

6
FILE DESCRIPTION

NEW YORK FILE

SUBJECT J. Robert Oppenheimer

FILE NO. 100-9066

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SERIALS 1

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File No: 100-9066Re: J. Robert OppenheimerDate: 2/78
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
B-1	6/18/54	SA Memo to SAC NY	1	+	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
B-2	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	3	—	" " "
B-3	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	5	5	
B-4	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	2	—	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
B-5	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	" " "
B-6	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	" " "
B-7	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	2	—	" " "
B-8	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	2	—	" " "
B-9	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	4	—	" " "
B-10	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	3	—	" " "
B-11	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	4	—	" " "
B-12	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	7	—	" " "

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B-13	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
B-14	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	" " "
B-15	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	2	—	" " "
B-16	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	" " "
B-17	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	3	—	" " "
B-18	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	1	1	
B-19	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	1	+	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
B-20	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	1	+	" " "
B-21	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	2	—	" " "
B-22	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	" " "
B-23	4/13/54	Newspaper Clipping	3	—	" " "
B-24	4/14/54	Newspaper Clipping	6	—	" " "

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B-25	4/14/54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
B-26	4/14/54	Newspaper Clipping	2	—	" " "
B-27	4/14/54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	" " "
B-28	4/14/54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	" " "
B-29	4/14/54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	" " "
B-30	4/14/54	Newspaper Clipping	2	—	" " "
B-31	4/14/54	Newspaper Clipping	2	—	" " "
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B-33	4/14/54	Newspaper Clipping	2	—	" " "
B-34	4/14/54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	" " "
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U. S. Department of Justice

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See also Nos. _____

Newspaper Clippings

179-9066

Section 1-41

L. W. Smith

7-9-34

H. J. Gresham

DR. OPPENHEIMER SUSPENDED BY A.E.C. IN SECURITY REVIEW; SCIENTIST DEFENDS RECORD



Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer

The New York Times

HEARINGS STARTED

Access to Secret Data
Denied Nuclear Expert
—Red Ties Alleged

*Texts of charges and reply by
Oppenheimer, Pages 16, 17, 18*

By JAMES RESTON

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 12—Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, the man who directed the making of the first atomic bomb, has been suspended by the Atomic Energy Commission pending a review of his security file.

A panel of the commission's Personnel Security Board, headed by Gordon Gray, president of the University of North Carolina and former Secretary of the Army, started hearings on the case today.

The other members of the three-man panel are Thomas Morgan, former chairman and president of the Sperry Corporation, and Ward V. Evans, Professor of Chemistry at Loyola University of Chicago.

Meanwhile Dr. Oppenheimer, who directed the Government's atomic bomb project at Los Alamos, N. M., in World War II, and now carries around in his head as much top secret information as any man alive, has been denied access to all Government security documents.

Law Office

CLIPPING FROM THE

N.Y. TIMES

APR 13 1954

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Charges Are Listed

The main charges against him—most of which had been reviewed by the A. E. C., the White House, and the Departments of Justice, State and Defense over a period of twelve years—were that he:

1. Associated frequently with Communists in the early Forties, including his brother Frank and Frank's wife; that he fell in love with one Communist and married another former Communist; and that he contributed regularly and generously to Communist causes from 1940 to April of 1942.

2. Hired Communists or former Communists at Los Alamos during the war.

3. Gave contradictory testimony to the Federal Bureau of Investigation about attendance at Communist meetings in the early Nineteen Forties.

4. Rejected as "traitorous" an attempt by an alleged Communist to get scientific information from him for the Soviet Union, but failed to report the incident to the Government's security officers for many months.

5. Strongly opposed the development of the hydrogen bomb in 1949, when he was chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission's General Advisory Committee, and lobbied against it even after President Truman ordered the A. E. C. to proceed with the project.

Dr. Oppenheimer, who has repeatedly admitted association with various Communists in the late Thirties and early Forties but flatly denied membership in

Continued on Page 15, Column 1

A. E. C. SUSPENDS DR. OPPENHEIMER

Continued From Page 1

the Communist party, is a sensitive man of 50 years of age. He lives with his wife and two small children in a big white clapboard house on the grounds of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, N. J., where he is director.

In addition to his work there, he was, until his suspension, a member of President Eisenhower's Science Advisory Committee, consultant to the A. E. C., and adviser to the Departments of State, Defense and the National Security Council on armaments and their regulation, continental defense, civil defense, and the use of atomic weapons in support of ground combat.

The suspension of Dr. Oppenheimer has been known in Government and scientific circles for some weeks. Many of the nation's most distinguished scientists, including Dr. Vannevar Bush, Dr. James B. Conant and more than twenty others, have agreed to testify for Dr. Oppenheimer, and it is understood that many of the men who worked with the Princeton physicist on the atomic bomb project are raising a fund to help defray the expenses of the case.

Dr. Oppenheimer has retained Lloyd Garrison, New York attorney, to represent him before the A. E. C.'s Security Board. He accompanied the scientist at this morning's hearings. Under the Government's security regulation, the Security Board will recommend a decision to the Atomic Energy Commission whose decision in the matter will be final.

The decision of the commission, however, does not preclude the possibility of hearings in the case before a Congressional committee. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy has indicated that he will discuss the policy proposed by the A. E. C.'s top scientists on the hydrogen bomb in a speech scheduled for delivery in Houston, Tex., April 21, the night before the Senator's hearings on his dispute with the Army.

Replies to Charges

Dr. Oppenheimer, in a forty-three-page answer to the charges against him, denied that he had lobbied against the hydrogen bomb development after President Truman had ordered its development, or that he had given any secret information to any unauthorized person.

He did not deny his past Communist associations or early sympathy for certain philosophic objectives of Communist ideology. However he asserted that he had abandoned his illusions about communism during the war. Finally, he asked that the "degradatory information" in his file be judged in the context of his strange life and work.

Describing this life, when he was a professor at the University of California and the California Institute of Technology, Dr. Oppenheimer said:

"My friends, both in Pasadena and in Berkeley, were mostly faculty people, scientists, classicists and artists. I studied and read Sanskrit with Arthur Ryder. I read very widely, but mostly classics, novels, plays and poetry; and I read something of other parts of science.

"I was not interested in and did not read about economics or politics. I was almost wholly divorced from the contemporary scene in this country. I never read a newspaper or a current magazine like Time or Harper's; I had no radio, no telephone; I learned of the stock market crash in the fall of 1929 only long after the event; the first time I ever voted was in the Presidential election of 1936 . . ."

Interest in War in Spain

Dr. Oppenheimer explained to the A. E. C. that he later began to take an interest in political matters, particularly in the Republican battle against Gen. Francisco Franco in the Spanish Civil War, and that he developed many left-wing associations and contributed to the Communists for the Spanish Republicans—often in sums over \$100.

"Because of these associations . . . and the contributions," he said, "I might well have appeared at the time as quite close to the Communist party—perhaps even to some people, as belonging to it."

"As I have said, some of its declared objectives seemed to me desirable. But I never was a member of the Communist party. I never accepted Communist dogma or theory; in fact, it never made sense to me."

"I had no clearly formulated political views. I hated tyranny and repression and every form of dictatorial control of thought. In most cases, I did not in those days know who was and who was not a member of the Communist party. No one ever asked me to join the Communist party."

The question raised about Dr. Oppenheimer's position on the hydrogen bomb was phrased by the A. E. C. letter in these terms:

"It was reported [presumably to the F. B. I.] that in the autumn of 1941, 1949 and subsequently, you strongly opposed the development of the hydrogen bomb (1) on moral grounds; (2) by claiming that it was not feasible; (3) by claiming that there were insufficient facilities and scientific personnel to carry on the development, and (4) that it was not politically desirable."

Dr. Oppenheimer replied that he and the other members of the general advisory committee of the A. E. C. had opposed what was called a "crash program" to produce "the super"—the code name for the hydrogen bomb project.

In October of 1949, he said after the Soviet Union's first atomic explosion, Chairman David E. Lilienthal of the A. E. C. had called in the commission's general advisory committee, of which Dr. Oppenheimer was the chairman, and asked these questions:

1. In view of the Soviet success,

was the commission's program adequate, and if not how should it be altered? and

Should a "crash program" for the development of "the super" be a part of any new program?

Rear Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, who was then on the commission but not chairman of it, had circulated a memorandum urging the development of the Super as fast as possible, but the General Advisory Committee took another view.

Dr. Oppenheimer did not spell out why the committee, including himself, opposed the "crash" program. In his letter to the A. E. C. he referred the Government to the advisory committee's report at that time.

However, it is understood that he also put in evidence another secret document in the form of a memorandum about the decision of the advisory committee at that time. According to this memorandum, Dr. Oppenheimer and several other members of the advisory committee took this view:

In view of the Soviet atom-bomb explosion, the United States defense program was not sufficient.

New designs of weapons calculated to increase the family of atomic weapons should be pressed at once.

Particularly, the "field usefulness" of the weapons should be improved.

More attention should be paid to the project for developing atomic warheads for guided missiles and atomic artillery.

Some of the scientists on the advisory committee at that time—it is understood Dr. Oppenheimer agreed with them—did have moral and political reasons for opposing the hydrogen bomb program.

Wanted New Negotiation

Chairman Lillenthal of the A. E. C. felt, for example, that another attempt should be made to negotiate a world agreement for the control of atomic weapons before proceeding with "the super." He also thought that a decision to build the A-bomb would perpetuate what he regarded as the illusion that the bigger weapon was a substitute for an all-around military program, which was hampered at that time by an economy wave.

Dr. Oppenheimer had any political or moral reservations about the hydrogen bomb program, however, he did not mention them in his reply to the Atomic Commission.

There are two different stories about how the Oppenheimer case was revived at this time. The first is that a former employee of the Joint (Congressional) Committee on Atomic Energy, who had opposed Dr. Oppenheimer's position on the development of the hydrogen bomb in 1949, went to the present head of the Joint Committee, Representative W. Sterling Cole, Republican of up-state New York, with a long catalogue of charges against Dr. Oppenheimer, and that Mr. Cole took up the matter with the White House.

The other, and more generally accepted version, is that the F. B. I. itself sent a summary of the charges in its Oppenheimer file to President Eisenhower and questioned the prudence of allowing a person with such Communist associations in the past to have access to top secret information.

It is understood that the President discussed the matter with the Secretary of Defense, Charles E. Wilson, the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, Arthur S. Flemming, and his assistant on National Security Council matters, Robert Cutler, before calling in Admiral Strauss, the A. E. C. chairman.

Asked to Meet Strauss

This was in December of 1953, during the controversy over how former President Truman had dealt with F. B. I. security warnings in the Harry Dexter White case. Whether this affected the decision is not known, but in any event a decision was made to proceed with the case.

Accordingly, Dr. Oppenheimer was asked to meet Admiral Strauss, who had been a member of the commission in 1947, when the Oppenheimer file was first sent to the commission by the F. B. I. The Admiral later was responsible for the selection of Dr. Oppenheimer as director of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

Admiral Strauss is understood to have given Dr. Oppenheimer the choice of resigning or facing security charges. This was on Dec. 21, 1953. Dr. Oppenheimer stated then, and wrote a letter the next day repeating, that he preferred to face the charges.

As a result, Maj. Gen. K. D. Nichols, the general manager of the Atomic Energy Commission, wrote a letter on Dec. 23, 1953 which listed the derogatory information in Dr. Oppenheimer's file and explained "the steps which you may take to assist in the resolution of this question."

This letter explained that, under the Eisenhower Administration's new security regulations (Executive Order 10450), it was mandatory that a Government employee be suspended and his eligibility to see security information denied where there existed in his file "information indicating that his employment may not be clearly consistent with the interests of national security."

This particular part of the letter seemed to suggest that the review of the case was more or less routine—an automatic check of old information to make sure that it conformed to the Eisenhower Administration's new security regulations.

The Nichols letter added, however:

"As a result of additional investigation as to your character, associations and loyalty . . . there has developed considerable question whether your continued employment on Atomic Energy Commission work will endanger the common defense and security and whether such continued employment is clearly consistent with the interests of national security."

In view of your access to highly sensitive classified information, and in view of these allegations which, until disproved, raise questions as to your veracity.



THE NEW YORK TIMES

HEADS INQUIRY: Gordon Gray of the Atomic Energy Commission's Personnel Security Board, who has started hearings on the case of Dr. Robert J. Oppenheimer.

ty, conduct and even your loyalty. the commission has no other recourse, in discharge of its obligations to protect the common defense and security but to suspend your clearance until the matter has been resolved . . .

Altogether, the A. E. C.'s letter raised over twenty different questions about Dr. Oppenheimer's conduct, associations, veracity and loyalty. The commission explained to Dr. Oppenheimer that the A. E. C. was not vouching for or giving the sources of these charges, but merely passing them along to Dr. Oppenheimer to clear up.

Though Klaus Fuchs, the British scientist who was convicted of passing atomic information to the Soviets, worked on the Los Alamos project during the war, there was no suggestion in any of the unevaluated charges in the F. B. I. file that Dr. Oppenheimer had cooperated with Fuchs in any way. Nor was there any charge that Dr. Oppenheimer had passed any secrets through anyone else to the U. S. S. R.

The New York Times obtained a detailed report of these charges and sought verification from Dr. Oppenheimer, Admiral Strauss and Chairman Cole of the Congressional Atomic Energy Committee.

In view of the fact that The Times was in possession of most of the facts in the case, Dr. Oppenheimer made the statement of charges and his reply available to The Times so that the record of the case could be written from the actual documents.

Accordingly, here are the main charges which were passed on to Dr. Oppenheimer in the A. E. C.'s letter and the replies given by Dr. Oppenheimer to the commission:

QUESTION NO. 1—It was reported (presumably to the F. B. I.) that prior to April, 1942, you had contributed \$150 per month to the Communist party in the San Francisco area and that the last payment was apparently made in April, 1942, immediately before your entry into the atomic bomb project.

DR. OPPENHEIMER—The matter which most engaged my sympathies and interests was the war in Spain . . . It was probably through Spanish relief efforts that I met Dr. Thomas Addis and Rudy Lambert . . . Addis asked me, perhaps in the winter of 1937-38, to contribute through him to the Spanish cause. He made clear that this money, unlike that which went to the relief organizations, would go straight to the fighting effort, and that it would go through Communist channels.

I did so contribute; usually when he communicated with me, explaining the nature of the need, I gave him sums in cash, probably never much less than a hundred dollars, and occasionally perhaps somewhat more than that several times during the winter. . . .

In time these contributions came to an end. I went to a big Spanish relief party the night before Pearl Harbor. . . . I decided that I had had about enough of the Spanish cause, and that there were other and more pressing crises in the world.

QUESTION NO. 2—It was reported that prior to March 1, 1943, possibly three months prior, Peter Ivanov, Secretary at the Soviet Consulate, San Francisco, approached George Charles Eitenton for the purpose of obtaining information regarding work being done at the Radiation Laboratory for the use of Soviet scientists; that George Eitenton subsequently requested Haakon Chevalier to approach you concerning this matter; that Haakon Chevalier thereupon approached you, either directly or through your brother, Frank Friedman, Oppenheimer, in connection with this matter; and that Haakon Chevalier finally advised George Charles Eitenton that there was no chance whatsoever of obtaining the information. . . .

DR. OPPENHEIMER—I knew

of no attempt to obtain secret information at Los Alamos. Prior to my going there, my friend, Haakon Chevalier, with his wife, visited us on Eagle Hill, probably in early 1943. During the visit he came into the kitchen and told me that George Eitenton had spoken to him of the possibility of obtaining technical information to Soviet scientists.

I made some strong remark to the effect that this sounded terribly wrong to me. The discussion ended there. Nothing in our long-standing friendship would have led me to believe that Chevalier was actually seeking information; and I was certain that he had no idea of the work on which I was engaged . . .

It has long been clear to me that I should have reported this incident at once . . . Later, when General Groves [Maj. Gen. Leslie Groves, Army officer in charge of the atom bomb project] urged me to give the details, I told him of my conversation with Chevalier. I still think of Chevalier as a friend . . .

Asked About Dr. Tatlock

QUESTION NO. 3—It was reported that 1943 and previously, you were intimately associated with Dr. Jean Tatlock, a member of the Communist party in San Francisco, and that Dr. Tatlock was partially responsible for your association with Communist-front groups.

DR. OPPENHEIMER—In the spring of 1938, I had been introduced by friends to Jean Tatlock, the daughter of a noted Professor of English at the University [of California]; and in the autumn I began to court her, and we grew close to each other. We were at least twice close enough to marriage to think of ourselves as engaged.

Between 1939 and her death in 1944, I saw her very rarely. She told me about her Communist party memberships; they were on again, off again affairs, and never seemed to provide for her what she was seeking.

I don't believe that her interests were really political. She was a person of deep religious feeling. She loved this country and its people and its life. She was, as it turned out, a friend of many fellow-travelers and Communists, with a number of whom I was later to become acquainted. [However] I should not give the impression that it was wholly because of Jean Tatlock that I made left-wing friends . . . I have mentioned some of the other contributing causes. I like the new sense of companionship, and at the time felt that I was coming to be part of the life of my time and country. . . .

QUESTION NO. 4: It was reported that your wife, Katherine Puening Oppenheimer, was formerly the wife of Joseph Dallet, a member of the Communist party, who was killed in Spain in 1937 fighting for the Spanish Republican Army. It was further reported that during the period of her association with Joseph Dallet your wife became a member of the Communist party.

DR. OPPENHEIMER—It was in the summer of 1939, in Pasadena that I first met my wife. She was married to Dr. Harrison, who was a friend and associate of the Tolmans, Lauriteens and others on the California Institute of Technology faculty.

I learned of her earlier marriage to Joe Dallet and of his death fighting in Spain. He had been a Communist party official and for a year or two during their brief marriage, my wife was a Communist party member.

When I met her, I found in her a deep loyalty to her former husband, a complete disengagement from any political activity, and a certain disappointment and contempt that the Communist party was not in fact what she once thought it was.

The scientist also told the A. E. C.'s security board that his brother, Frank, and his brother's wife, Jackie, had been members of the Communist party for a time. Frank told him this, he said, probably in 1937, but came to Berkeley in the autumn of 1941 and "made it clear to me that he was no longer a member of the Communist party."

Dr. Oppenheimer described in his letter to the A. E. C. some of the problems of recruiting men to go into the New Mexico desert to work on the atomic bomb project there. He also described the restrictions and the excitement of life in that important military compound.

The physicist said that "past Communist connections or sympathies did not necessarily disqualify a man from employment (at Los Alamos) if we had confidence in his integrity and dependability as a man."

Denies Discussing Bomb

He denied, however, that he had talked about the atomic bomb to Communist party members during this period (1942-45) or that he knew in 1943 "several individuals then at Los Alamos who had been members of the Communist party."

He knew of only one, he said. "She was my wife, of whose disassociation from the party, and of whose integrity and loyalty to the United States I had no question."

Later, in 1944 or 1945, he re-

called, his brother Frank, also a physicist, came to Los Alamos from the atom-bomb project at Oak Ridge, Tenn., where he had been cleared for security.

Though one of the charges against Dr. Oppenheimer was that his opposition to the hydrogen bomb has slowed down its development—a charge recently implied by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy—the story unfolded in these remarkable documents indicates that Dr. Oppenheimer actually had a lot to do with the concept of the hydrogen bomb in the first place.

He tells how he called together a theoretical study group at Berkeley in the summer of 1942 and how this group "came to grips for the first time with the physical problems of atom bombs, atomic explosions and the possibility of using fission explosions to initiate thermonuclear (hydrogen) reactions."

At the end of this study, Dr. Oppenheimer said that he called the attention of Dr. Vannevar Bush to the possibility of hydrogen bomb reactions, and that it was then that "we began to see the great explosions of Alamogordo . . . with a surer foreknowledge."

Left-Wing Ties Noted

It was about that same time, late summer of 1942, that the first question of his left-wing associations was raised, but it was indicated to him then, as it was many times later, that these past associations would not be allowed to stand in the way of the work he was doing to develop the "decisive weapon" of the war.

Nevertheless, it is a fact that those who have been privy to the secret of the "Oppenheimer Case" are now wondering what the political reaction here will be when the fact of the Security Board hearings become public.

Among those who have been in on the secret there are two contradictory views. The first is that the Gordon Gray Security Board will find, as the Atomic Energy Commission found in 1947, that Dr. Oppenheimer's Communist associations before

1943 do not make him a "security risk" in 1954, and that his contributions to the ending of the war and to the success of the "cold war" outweigh any of his pre-1943 actions.

The other view is that some of the policies he has favored since the end of the war still raise some question about his loyalty. For example, recent appeals for more information on the hydrogen bomb and his opposition to it.

It is generally agreed here that the judgment of many prominent persons is on trial in this case. Dr. Oppenheimer was recommended for his Los Alamos job, for example, by General Leslie Groves, Dr. Bush and Dr. Conant.

His F. B. I. file, containing all these charges, has been open to the Joint Congressional Committee ever since that committee was formed eight years ago; most of the members of the present Atomic Energy Commission have known this whole story for years.

And Dr. Oppenheimer was called to the White House to advise the highest policy-making body in the land—the National Security Council—on continental defense policy last summer.

The physicist began his reply to the commission by saying "though of course I would have no desire to retain an advisory position if my advice were not needed, I cannot ignore the question [of possible disloyalty] you have raised, nor accept the suggestion that I am unfit for public service."

He ended it by saying:

"I have had to deal briefly or not at all with instances in which my actions or views were adverse to Soviet or Communist interest, and of actions that testify to my devotion to freedom, or that have contributed to the vitality, influence and power of the United States.

"In preparing this letter, I have reviewed two decades of my life. I have recalled instances where I acted unwisely. What I have hoped was, not that I could wholly avoid error, but that I might learn from it. What I have learned has, I think, made me more fit to serve my country."

Scientists Long Feuding Over Rival Atomic Plans

By ALLAN KELLER,
Staff Writer.

From the first day that pure science was harnessed to American production techniques, producing the atom bomb, there has been a deep and bitter struggle between scientists engaged in developing nuclear weapons.

First of all there was some half-hearted opposition to any building of the atom bomb by some scientists on the purely moral ground that it was too horrible a weapon to use.

Germans Trying.

This unwillingness to use pure science for the art of war was overcome, this writer learned in talks with many scientists and military men, when the intelligence services of Great Britain and this country found incontrovertible evidence that German laboratories were speeding research to produce atomic bombs.

The Germans, to avoid damage by Allied bombers, used a Norwegian plant to develop heavy water, one of the basic steps in preparing for atomic warfare. Britain sent heavy bombers, at great cost in planes and men, to blast the laboratory in its hidden valley. It was one of the most crucial victories of the war.

Then the scene of the scientific conflict shifted to this country. As the war drew on toward conclusion in 1945, Dr. Edward Teller, a physicist born in Hungary, working at the Los Alamos laboratory in New Mexico, worked out the theoretical process that would make possible the building of a hydrogen bomb—a thousand-fold more powerful than the atom bomb.

As he worked out his mathematical and scientific problems the Atomic Energy Commission decided that the United States was so far ahead of any other nation's capacity, to build A-bombs, that it decided to coast along, even though history has shown this was false security.

Russian Blast.

Then the Russians exploded their first fission bombs somewhere in the sandy wastes of Sinkiang or Uzbekistan. Devices we had perfected revealed the increase in atmospheric radiation, and our scientists told our military leaders that we were no longer undisputed master of the atom bomb.

At once the old schism within the ranks of the scientists which had arisen over the A-bomb became more marked when Dr.

Teller showed we could move on to the hydrogen bomb. There was a similar disagreement among politicians and military men.

Thought Chance Slim.

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, scientific head of the atom-bomb project, opposed the jump to the H-bomb. David Lilienthal, who had been chairman of the AEC, backed Dr. Oppenheimer.

The scientist, who today is faced with a hearing on the question of his fitness to have access to restricted information, expressed the belief that the chance of building a hydrogen bomb was only a 50-50 gamble.

Dr. Oppenheimer expressed the conviction that the H-bomb was beyond the resources of the Russian scientists. Dr. James Conant, president of Harvard, was a strong supporter of the Oppenheimer thesis.

Then from the barren heartland of central Asia came indisputable evidence that the Reds had produced a hydrogen-type explosion. It was evident to most persons that Dr. Klaus Fuchs had dumped virtually all of our secrets into the laps of the leaders in the Kremlin.

Fuchs, the traitor, had attended

under special carte blanche from British authorities, seminars at Los Alamos at which the Teller theories had been discussed.

Rear Adm. Lewis Strauss, present head of the AEC, urged President Truman to start building the H-bomb at once. Mr. Truman ordered an immediate, intensive start.

But the feeling at Los Alamos was so cool to the H-bomb that even after the go-ahead order was given sand was thrown in the bearings of the new H-bomb project.

The matter was resolved by bypassing Los Alamos. A new laboratory was established at Livermore, Calif., staffed largely by University of California scientists, and the work was put on a "don't-spare-the-horses" basis.

For two years, this writer has been told, the United States teetered on the brink of disaster. It was ahead in the field of atom bombs, but many scientists were convinced it was lagging behind Russia with the H-bomb.

Had Russia chosen to start war during those two years, our power to retaliate would have been much weaker than it is today. The American capacity to build in a hurry wiped out the disparity.

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SUBJECT J. Robert Oppenheimer

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VOLUME NO. SUB FILE B
SECTION 2

SERIALS 42

THRU

83

File No: 100-9066 Sub B
Re: OppenheimerDate: 2/18
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
42	4/16/54	NY Mirror article	2	—	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
43	4/16/54	NY Herald Tribune article	2	—	" " "
44	4/16/54	NY Mirror article	2	—	" " "
45	4/16/54	NY Post article	2	—	" " "
46	4/16/54	NY Post article	1	—	" " "
47	4/16/54	NY Journal American article	1	—	" " "
48	4/16/54	NY Brooklyn Eagle article	1	—	" " "
49	4/16/54	NY World Telegram & Sun article	1	—	" " "
50	4/16/54	NY Journal American article	2	—	" " "
51	4/16/54	NY Post article	1	—	" " "
52	4/16/54	NY Times article	3	—	" " "
53	4/16/54	NY Mirror article	2	2	

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			Actual	Released	
54	4/16/54	NY News article	3	—	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
55	4/17/54	NY Journal American article	1	1	
56	4/17/54	NY Mirror article	1	—	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
57	4/17/54	NY News article	4	—	" " "
58	4/17/54	NY Brooklyn Eagle art.	1	—	" " "
59	4/17/54	NY News article	1	—	" " "
60	4/17/54	NY Herald Tribune article	2	—	" " "
61	4/17/54	NY Mirror article	2	—	" " "
62	4/17/54	NY World Telegram + Sun art.	1	—	" " "
63	4/17/54	NY Journal American article	1	—	" " "
64	4/17/54	NY Times article	2	—	" " "
65	4/18/54	NY Times article	2	—	" " "

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66	4/18/54	NY Post article	1	—	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
67	4/18/54	NY Times article	3	—	" " "
68	4/18/54	NY Times article	6	6	
69	4/19/54	NY News article	1	—	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
70	4/19/54	NY Mirror article	1	—	" " "
71	4/19/54	NY Mirror article	1	—	" " "
72	4/19/54	NY Times article	2	—	" " "
73	4/19/54	NY World Telegram + Sun art	1	—	" " "
74	4/19/54	NY Post article	1	—	" " "
75	4/20/54	NY Journal American art	3	—	" " "
76	4/20/54	NY World Telegram + Sun art	1	—	" " "
77	4/20/54	NY World Telegram + Sun art	1	—	" " "

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U. S. Department of Justice

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FEDERAL BUREAU

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INVESTIGATION

See also Nos. _____

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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B-13
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Section 2
B-13-83

part of
J. H. Smith
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J. H. Smith

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE DAILY MIRROR

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, APRIL 16, 1954

"Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."
John, viii, 32

Who Should Investigate?

THE SECRET INVESTIGATION of J. Robert Oppenheimer will not satisfy the American people because it is secret. In a matter involving the lives of all of us, there should be no secrecy.

The national defense is in no way involved. The Russians have the hydrogen bomb and we are now being told that they had it ahead of us due to a conflict within our Government as to whether we should make a hydrogen bomb or not. J. Robert Oppenheimer was opposed to making the hydrogen bomb.

The Atomic Energy Commission has designated a panel to investigate Oppenheimer. While that panel is in secret session, Oppenheimer supplied two newspapers with his side of the story. The data provided by the FBI, which the Department of Justice gave to the President and which caused Oppenheimer to be suspended from all official duties and relationships, has not been made public, which it could not be under the law.

This raises the question as to whether a board appointed by the A.E.C. is the suitable body to make such an investigation. After all, the A.E.C. itself is on the spot. It had a report on the subject of Oppenheimer some time in 1947. In 1949, his brother, Frank Oppenheimer, also employed on atomic matters, was disclosed as a Communist Party member by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Both Oppenheimers were married to Communists. J. Robert Oppenheimer gave employment to known and public Communists. What did the A.E.C. do about it? We are told that the question was raised several times and that each time Oppenheimer was cleared.

About a year ago, the McCarthy Committee of the Senate began to investigate Communist infiltration into the A.E.C. Lewis Strauss, new A.E.C. chairman, requested delay until he cleaned up any mess that existed, but Lewis Strauss was a member of the A.E.C. from 1946 to 1950 and he must have known about Oppenheimer, who was also subsequently associated with him at the Institute for Advanced Study.



Lewis Strauss

7-10-54
CLIPPING FROM THE
N.Y. MIRROR

N. Y.
DATED APR 16 1954
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100-906653

Frederick NTF

THEREFORE what needs to be investigated is not Robert Oppenheimer alone but the whole thing. It needs to be recalled that from 1942 to 1947, the FBI was excluded from all investigative or screening activities in connection with atomic fission. They were only called in after it was established that the atom bomb was stolen.

The Oppenheimer case is only one in this most secret agency of Government. Dr. Klaus Fuchs worked for it. Dr. Allan Nunn May worked for it. Dr. Raymond Boyer worked for it. These are convicted spies.

Julius Rosenberg was able to invade it when most Americans never heard of the Manhattan Project at Los Alamos. He was able to establish a cell there. He was able to give his agents adequate cover so that they could steal what they wanted to steal. He was able to get what he wanted and to transmit it to Soviet Russia.

We do not know to this day who let Julius Rosenberg operate in Los Alamos. We do not know exactly how he managed to do his work there so effectively. We do not know how he duplicated that espionage job at Fort Monmouth. We have an inkling from the McCarthy Committee hearings but not the full story. That is what needs to be investigated thoroughly and in public. There is no longer any excuse for secrecy.

Only a congressional committee, with adequate powers of subpoena, can do this job. No agency of Government can investigate itself any more than a man can try himself for murder.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN ordered the production of the hydrogen bomb on January 31, 1950, a considerable period, AS WE NOW KNOW, after the Russians started on this work and long after the science of the bomb was known. On January 30, 1950, David Lilienthal, ~~will question~~ the cost of the bomb and Representative Sterling Cole, now head of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee of the Congress said that President Truman "muffed" a chance to take the lead in halting "the mad race of modern science toward more and greater weapons of destruction."

In a word, the differences of views continued after President Truman ordered the bomb made. There ought now to be a full-dress investigation in public to determine exactly what the story is. Hundreds of witnesses need to be called so that not an iota of doubt exists in the minds of the American people.

We ought to know for sure whether the Government of the United States or the Kremlin decided the timing of our work on the bomb.

Subversive Front:

'Worker' Read at Los Alamos

By HOWARD RUSHMORE

A ROUGH-AND-READY Army MP has some startling information regarding the type of literature read by our atomic scientists at Los Alamos while they were making the bomb that rocked the world.

"This MP was assigned to guard the homes of the top scientists at Los Alamos and more than once he was startled to see the Daily Worker on the reading table of certain big domes in 1943-44."

He also reports that the wife of one noted scientist conducted a political Carrie Nation campaign to run all military personnel off the government reservation. According to the MP, she was one of the Daily Worker readers.

"If the AEC—or any Congressional committee—is interested, this MP is available for questioning. He's not an intellectual and he isn't a victim of hysteria, but he is a patriot. His name can be obtained through this department."

"People of Dignity"

Speaking of hysteria, the Queens College student paper "The Crown"—bewails McCarthy's "witch-hunting" and states "Constitutional rights are ignored, men are ruined in their professions, accusations are founded on dissension and disagreement, people of dignity are subject to debasement."

Apparently the editor doesn't include among the "people of dignity" the taxpayers who support the "Crown" and who paid the salaries of Queens College's Fifth Amendment professors.

* * *

That Rosenberg committee set up to defend the executed A-bomb spies is now attempting to get

Morton Sobell, a co-conspirator in the case, removed from Alcatraz. They claim it's a rough and uncouth place, full of criminals.

Vets' Parade

The veteran's wing of the ADA known as the Americans Veterans Committee is staging a May Day rally of its own. But heaven forbid, it will not engage in vulgar anti-Communism. In a slap at the VFW's traditional Loyalty Day parade of the same date, the AVC thunders: "Some extremely indignant and chauvinistic 'professional veterans' have turned May Day into a pedestrian demonstration of anti-Communism." The AVC forgets the Loyalty Day parade is sponsored by vets with a 100 per cent record of having fought for the United States overseas. Of course, by ADA-AVC standards, that makes them "chauvinists."

* * *

Last year Medford Evans, for eight years an official with the Atomic Energy Commission, gave the McCarthy committee some explosive statements concerning lack of security in the A-bomb project. Evans' book, "The Secret War for the A-Bomb," provides material for a real AEC investigation.

* * *

On the required reading list this week is an article "An Anti-Communist's Guide to Action" in the May issue of the American Mercury. By the nation's top authority, Dr. J. B. Matthews.

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APR 17 1954
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THE DRAMA OF THE HYDROGEN BOMB—AND DR. OPPENHEIMER'S

KEY ROLE

Security Case Focuses Attention on Disputes That Preceded
First Successful Test of H-Bomb at Pacific Proving Ground

Late City Edition

N. Y.

APR 8 1954

U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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March 1974

By E. W. KENWORTHY

Fifteen years ago this month a paper in the *Physical Review* set the United States on the course that led to Eniwetok. Those years wrought greater changes than any comparable period in the whole sweep of history. What follows is a brief account of the H-bomb, the men who made it, the problems it poses.

1. THE BEGINNINGS

The atomic age began theoretically in 1905 when Albert Einstein advanced the proposition that matter could be converted into energy.

It began actually thirty-three years later in the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute not many miles from Hitler's Chancellery. On a day late in 1933, physicists Otto Hahn and Fritz Strassman proved the Einstein theory by bombarding uranium with neutrons. The uranium atom was split into lighter elements; in the fission, some matter was converted into energy with explosive force. That small flash was the precursor of the A-bomb and the H-bomb.

Soon after, Lise Meitner, who worked with Hahn, fled Germany. She passed the news on to Niels Bohr in Copenhagen. At a conference later in Washington, Bohr and Enrico Fermi, a refugee Italian physicist working at Columbia, put their heads together. In April, 1939, Fermi and Leo Szilard published a paper on their own researches on the bombardment of uranium. Einstein read it. He, Szilard and Eugene O. Wigner of Princeton met with Alexander Sachs of the Lehman Corporation to discuss the possibility of an atomic bomb.

On Oct. 11, 1939, Sachs read to President Roosevelt a letter from Einstein and a memo from Szilard. The President ordered an Advisory Committee on Uranium to be set up. In February, 1940, \$6,000 was allotted for the work at Columbia. In June the Uranium Committee was placed under the newly created National Defense Research Committee (later the Office of Scientific Research and Development) headed by Dr. Vannevar Bush. After Pearl Harbor, the decision was made to go all-out.

Through 1942, the laboratory work went forward at tremendous speed. At Columbia, the Substitute Alloy Material (SAM) Laboratory under Harold Urey was developing and testing the gaseous diffusion process of separating out the uranium isotope U-235. At the University of California in Berkeley, scientists in the Radiation Laboratory under the direction of Ernest O. Lawrence worked on the electromagnetic process of separating U-235. At the Argonne Laboratory



at the University of Chicago, physicists under Fermi were constructing a pilot atomic pile (sketch above), and at the end of the year the Metallurgical Laboratory under Arthur Compton began working on the production of plutonium.

While the laboratory agents

went forward, the Government began phasing production. In the fall of 1942, Maj. Gen. Leslie R. Groves was made head of the over-all Manhattan Engineer District. Before the year was out, the M. E. D. had begun the construction of the vast U-235 complex at Oak Ridge, Tenn., and the plutonium plant at Hanford, Wash.

At the same time, General Groves acquired a site in the New Mexico desert—the Los Alamos Ranch—about thirty-five miles from Santa Fe. Here in April, 1943, the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory was set up to work on the actual bomb. The man put in charge of Los Alamos was J. Robert Oppenheimer, a theoretical physicist from Berkeley.

2. THE TRIGGER

Dr. Oppenheimer's plans called for an initial staff of 100 highly trained scientists and technicians. By the spring of 1945, Los Alamos had a staff of nearly 4,000.

Recruitment was a terrific problem. The nation was at war. Most scientists were already engaged on other essential defense work. Life at Los Alamos was not an inviting prospect. It was a military post. The scientists were asked to sign up for the duration.

The burden of recruitment fell largely on Dr. Oppenheimer. For months he traveled about the country, persuading scientists of the urgency of the work they would be doing. His fervor was infectious. Few scientists refused him.

Security considerations had been uppermost in the selection of Los Alamos. But the Army did not rely on remoteness. The whole area was fenced and constantly patrolled by armed guards like those shown be-



low. Mail was censored. All telephone calls monitored. The scientists were permitted to leave the post only on business, or for the most urgent personal reasons. When they left, they were kept under surveillance.

There was good reason for the precautions. The Army Counter Intelligence Corps and the F. B. I. had ample evidence that the Communists knew much and were after more. Under the direction of Steve Nelson, openly the party organizer of the San Francisco Bay Area and covertly an NKVD agent in charge of atomic espionage, the Communists had managed to plant a small cell in the Radiation Laboratory at Berkeley.

A few months before Dr. Oppenheimer had left for Los Alamos, the Communists had made approaches to him through an old friend. According to testimony in postwar Congressional hearings, Dr. Oppenheimer had replied that the giving of information would be "reasonable." But he failed to report the incident until several months after it occurred.

Despite all the precautions, Los Alamos was not spy-proof. For almost two years—from August, 1944 to June, 1946—Klaus Fuchs worked at Los Alamos, sitting in on the most secret sessions. At Los Alamos, also,

was the draftsman, David Greenglas, who worked on a lens mold. On a Sunday morning in June, 1945, he met Soviet agent Harry Gold in Albuquerque, and gave him drawings of the bomb.

For the scientists at Los Alamos, life was made up of problems, heartbreaks and triumphs. It was an austere, dedicated life. The problems were of a kind that required unhurried concentration. But the scientists worked under the awful urgency of knowing that the bomb could turn the tide of war and of not knowing how far along the Germans were.

Dr. Oppenheimer has telescoped the Los Alamos story in these words:

"Time and again we had in the technical work almost paralyzing crises. Time and again the laboratory drew itself together and faced the new problems and got on with the work. We worked by night and by day; and in the end the many jobs were done."

On July 16, 1945, this mushroom cloud rose out of the desert at Alamogordo.



On the day of Hiroshima, Secretary Stimson said:

"The development of the bomb itself has been largely due to his [Dr. Oppenheimer's] genius and the inspiration and leadership he has given to his associates."

Even as the bombs dropped on Japan, the scientists at Los Alamos were discussing the future of atomic energy. The fissionable atom, in a world at peace, could multiply the wealth of mankind. It could also, in a world not at peace, become the trigger for a vastly more powerful thermonuclear bomb.

3. THE HIATUS

In the fall of 1945, the nation knew little and cared less about H-bombs. The A-bomb was felt to be plenty big enough. It had stunned the world with its power. The problem was how to control it.

This was the Indian summer of large hopes—in the unity of the victors, in the United Nations, in permanent peace. United States forces were quickly brought home and demobilized. The Congress set to work on plans for civilian control of atomic energy. The Government set to work on plans for international control of atomic armaments.

The Indian summer became a cold winter and a false spring. In June, 1946, Russia flatly turned down the Baruch plan for international control of atomic energy. As Dr. Oppenheimer, who had been a consultant to Mr. Baruch, wrote later: "Openness, friendliness and cooperation did not seem to be what the Soviet Government most prized on this earth. . . . Instead we came to grips . . . with the massive

evidence of Soviet hostility and the growing ~~evidence~~ Soviet power. . . .

This massive evidence did not bring a reversal of the post-war cutbacks in American armed strength. Instead the nation placed its reliance on its A-bomb monopoly, confident that Russia would require at least five years and possibly ten to solve the riddle, by which time the United States would have a formidable stockpile. This confidence was vaporized on Sept. 23, 1949.

The Soviet explosion jolted the Government. Some officials urged on the President an all-out "crash" program to build "the Super"—the H-bomb. Among them was Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, a member of the Atomic Energy Commission. A tremendous controversy began in the most secret councils of the nation.

The Atomic Energy Commission in October called for a special meeting of the General Advisory Committee of scientists, of which Dr. Oppenheimer was chairman. The A. E. C. asked for an opinion on the "crash" program. The S. A. C. reported back before the month was out. Unanimously it opposed the crash program. Behind the committee's opposition were these considerations:

There was the question of feasibility. The committee estimated that with "an imaginative and concerted attack" there was a "better than even chance" of producing the H-bomb within five years. But there were tremendous technical difficulties to solve. Some scientists doubted whether the intense heat of the A-bomb could be concentrated long enough to set off the H-bomb.

There was the question of atomic "drain." At that time, plans called for using tritium as the key component in the H-bomb charge. The production of tritium would utilize facilities otherwise capable of producing plutonium for A-bombs. The scientists doubted whether this drain was justified when the nation already had A-bombs more powerful than those that had knocked out Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

There was also the question of defense. Dr. Oppenheimer (shown with Dr. Einstein below) felt strongly



that continental defenses could be strengthened.

Finally there was the big question of basing the nation's security chiefly on strategic atom-bombing. Many scientists agreed with top Army and Navy officials that the atomic bomb was not an "ultimate" weapon, and that there were many local situations in which it could not be used. The enemy's knowledge of the bomb's limitations — together with his confidence that the U. S. would not initiate a massive atom-

war against cities—might encourage local aggression, it was argued.

Therefore, the scientists recommended concentration on large A-bombs; a family of atom weapons (already under way at Los Alamos) that could be used in tactical support of ground troops, and an enlarged air defense network.

Within the A. E. C., Chairman David E. Lilienthal (below, talking with Senator Brien McMahon), sum-



mer T. Pike. Dr. Henry D. Smyth aligned themselves with the Advisory Committee. Admiral Strauss and Gordon Dean dissented. The President turned the controversy over to Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson and Mr. Lilienthal. The three men met on Jan. 31, 1950. Mr. Acheson and Mr. Johnson favored the crash program. The committee walked across the street to the White House. The President listened to the arguments. That afternoon he gave the go-ahead on the H-bomb.

4. BUILDING THE BOMB

Work on the H-bomb got under way immediately at Los Alamos. In charge of the program was Dr. Edward Teller, the Hungarian-born physicist who had long been at work on the theoretical problems.

At the outset, planning was based on the assumption that the H-bomb would use tritium, and in January, 1951, ground was broken on a billion-dollar plant at Savannah River, South Carolina, to produce the tritium.

Meanwhile, however, Teller was working on a revolutionary scheme that might obviate the need of tritium. At Eniwetok in the spring of 1951, it was reported that a device was tested which established the soundness of his theory. From then on things moved with tremendous speed. Teller was installed at the A. E. C. laboratory in Livermore, Calif., which became the Los Alamos of the H-bomb.

As the work on the H-bomb continued, so did the controversy. The scientists who had warned against excessive reliance on strategic atomic bombs found point for their warnings in the Korean war.

In a speech to the New York Bar Association in January, 1951, Dr. Oppenheimer raised again the question of the military uses of the atom as against the political uses as a deterrent:

"They [atomic bombs] are not primarily weapons of totality or terror, but weapons used to give combat forces help that they would otherwise lack. Only when the atomic bomb is recognized . . . as an integral part of military operations, will it really be of much help in the fighting of a war, rather

than in warning all mankind to avert it."

Again dealing with the dangers of using the Super as a deterrent, he said that this may be "a fine thing," but he asked, "What happens if the fighting starts?" He quoted Admiral Ralph A. Ostaie: ["When we talk of strategic bombing] we are talking of attacks on cities. . . . The idea that it is within our power to inflict maximum damage upon the enemy in a short time without serious risk to ourselves creates the delusion that we are stronger than we actually are."

The whole question of national policy had obviously become vastly complex. The scientist was no longer merely the hand-maiden to the military, nor the consultant to the civilian policy-makers. Inevitably he found himself thrust—or because of deep concern, thrust himself—into questions of military strategy and diplomacy.

The excursions of the scientists into the realm of policy, and especially after decisions had been made, aroused some resentment in high quarters. It is not known whether this resentment was one of the reasons that Dr. Oppenheimer was not reappointed to the General Advisory Committee when his term expired in June, 1952, but made a consultant for one year.

On Nov. 2, 1952, the first H-bomb (below) was shot at Eniwetok.



5. THE HYDROGEN AGE

The United States now had a Super-monopoly. The nation found some comfort in it, but not nearly so much as it had found in the bomb monopoly. The man in the street knew instinctively what the atomic physicist knew positively: that if the Russians could master the A-bomb, they could master the H-bomb; and that it would be only a matter of time before instruments in the free world would pick up radiation waves let loose in the fastnesses of Siberia.

The knowledge intensified the old controversy. But now there was intense public interest in the debate.

In public speeches the debate was earnest and dispassionate. But behind the scenes there were rumors, allegations, suspicions and charges. Some of these found their way into print. In May, 1953, Fortune Magazine ran a piece on "The Hidden Struggle for the H-bomb," which said that Dr. Teller "had reason to believe" that the Atomic Energy Commission "under Oppenheimer's influence" had tried "to postpone, if not stifle," the building of the H-bomb, and that Dr. Oppenheimer had "tried to stop the test" at Eniwetok.

Two months later an article by Dr. Oppenheimer on "Atomic Weapons and American Policy" got wide attention. He laid great stress on the need for defensive measures, and the need for "candor" with the American people and our Allies. He criticized "the great rigidity of policy."

In the week the Oppenheimer

article appeared, Admiral Strauss became the new chairman of the A. E. C. Four days after he took over, he ordered the removal of classified documents from Dr. Oppenheimer's custody, pending a review of his security file.

On Aug. 8, Malenkov announced that the American monopoly on the H-bomb had been ended.

Detection instruments not only confirmed this statement, but indicated—from the force of the explosion—that the Russians probably had the lithium secret. A tritium explosion of that force—the scientists believed—would have required an expenditure of atomic fuel the Russians would probably not have invested on a test.

A mood something like frenzy took hold of Washington, and it did not soon subside. The peak was reached in the first week in October when Defense Mobilizer Arthur S. Flemming said that Soviet Russia had the capacity to deliver "the most destructive weapon ever devised . . . on chosen targets in the United States"; Secretary of Defense Wilson said Russia was "three or four years back of where we are"; and W. Sterling Cole, chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, asked for expenditure of "10 billion a year on continental defense.

The President stepped in, saying that the Russians had the capacity to make "an atomic attack on us." He put an end to widespread reports that the Administration would launch "Operation Candor," a series of speeches on the whole atomic situation. He said, "We do not intend to disclose the details of our strength . . ." In mid-December he made his proposal for an atomic pool for peaceful purposes. Two weeks later, Dr. Oppenheimer was

called in by Admiral Strauss and given the alternative of resigning as consultant to the A. E. C. or facing a security hearing.

The March tests at Bikini raised a new storm, as the nation and world were shown pictures of the 1952 explosion that obliterated a small island and were informed by Admiral Strauss that March 1 blast would have destroyed Manhattan.

The President said the U. S. saw no need for building a bigger bomb. This did not dispel the fears, for the nation was also told that if the Bikini bomb were encased in a cobalt sheath, the explosion would send deadly radioactive cobalt dust cloud over thousands of square miles.

"Knowledge comes," said Tennyson, "but wisdom lingers." The world now had the knowledge to destroy itself. The question was whether it could command the wisdom to save itself.

PICTURE CREDITS

Photos in the above article were taken by U. S. Army, U. S. Air Force, Associated Press, The New York Times (Gertrude Banet).



THESE DAYS:

Oppenheimer and Liberalism

By **GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY**

FOR many months, I received, as did thousands of other Americans, circular brochures issued in Chicago by atomic scientists, many of them still employed by the Government of the United States, who differed with the official policy of this country on the use of information concerning atomic fission and the prospects of a thermonuclear bomb.

For the layman, not particularly versed or interested in science or in the disputations among scientists, these brochures presented the picture of employees of the Government opposing their employer. The argument ran that, as citizens, these government-employed scientists had as much right as any other citizen to express their opinions or to conduct a propaganda in favor of their point of view. Most of them supported the concept that secrecy in this field was wrong; the expansion of these bombs as instruments of war was immoral; that the Baruch Plan in the United Nations was unduly anti-Russian and so forth.

The immorality of the expansion of the bomb into more terrible instruments of warfare cannot be denied, but the immorality of leaving this country defenseless and a prey to Russia also cannot be denied. It seemed to me at the time that these scientists were suffering from the guilt of their own ingenuity. On the other hand, so much of their argument was in line with the Russian position in the United Nations that it was impossible not to wonder whether they were not guided more by their politics than by moral indignation.

Afternoon
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AMERICAN

N. Y. ...

DATED **APR 20 1954**
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Forsha NTC

Could Assess Danger

J. Robert Oppenheimer's opposition to the development of the thermonuclear bomb must be related in time to his knowledge of the work on the thermonuclear bomb that was actually being done in Soviet Russia. He should have known how much knowledge of this subject Dr. Klaus Fuchs possessed; he probably knew how much the well-informed Britishers, Donald MacLean and Guy Burgess, possessed. We all know that Dr. Bruno Pontecorvo escaped to Russia in 1950 and that it was generally presumed that he took with him a sample of tritium, which is a chief ingredient of the hydrogen bomb. A scientist of Dr. Oppenheimer's stature could assess the danger of Pontecorvo's desertion.

Men who are employed on these secret defensive measures have a free choice to accept such employment and to give up their private opinions or to refuse such employment and to hold to their private opinions. Professor Francis W. Coker, of Yale University, stated the case of the modern liberal as follows:

"When the modern liberal has challenged the reasonableness or justice of particular orders made by official spokesmen for a ruling group, he has sometimes been rebuked as an advocate of disorder or disunity; or if he has appealed for the restoration of earlier freedoms, he has been rebuffed as one vainly trying to revive outmoded ideas. When, in a community with a democratic form of government, he challenges the justice or practicality of a particular decision of the official political majority, he is represented as rejecting the principle of majority rule . . ."

Military Operation

This, of course, relates to the man who is not bound by commitments other than his own sense of responsibility. The atomic scientist, however, accepted employment in what is actually a military operation, the provision of adequate weapons for defense of the United States. Such persons were bound to secrecy because the Government so chose and the Government alone has the legal right to determine, either by Act of Congress or by Executive Regulation, what is to be secret and what is to be publicly disclosed. If each private citizen were to use his own judgment and choice in such matters, there would be no orderly government; there would be anarchy.

Actually, what the scientists of liberal persuasions sought to establish was that private opinion ought to prevail over government decisions when a conflict of view appeared. That undoubtedly was the view of Julius Rosenberg. His advocates adopted the view that as there was no secret about the atomic sciences, he disclosed nothing secret. It is a view widely held these days. The answer is that it is for the Government to decide what it wishes to disclose about its weapons.

This, it seems to me, is the issue in the Oppenheimer case. When Dr. Oppenheimer was approached by Haakon Chevalier to disclose secrets, his responsibility was to report instantly. That he did not do. The rest is commentary.

FILE DESCRIPTION

NEW YORK FILE

SUBJECT J. Robert Oppenheimer

FILE NO. 100-9066

VOLUME NO. SUB FILE B
SECTION 3

SERIALS 84

THRU

131

File No: 100-9066 Sub B Re: Robert OppenheimerDate: 2-78
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
84	4/22/54	N.Y. World Telegram & Sun	1	—	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
85	4/23/54	N.Y. Mirror	1	—	" " "
86	4/22/54	N.Y. Post	1	—	" " "
87	4/22/54	N.Y. Post	1	—	" " "
88	4/22/54	N.Y. Brooklyn Eagle	2	2	
89	4/22/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	1	—	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
90	4/23/54	N.Y. Journal American	1	—	" " "
91	4/25/54	N.Y. Mirror	1	—	" " "
92	4/26/54	N.Y. World Telegram & Sun	2	—	" " "
93	4/26/54	N.Y. Brooklyn Eagle	2	—	" " "
94	4/26/54	N.Y. World Telegram & Sun	2	—	" " "
95	4/29/54	N.Y. Post	1	—	" " "

File No: _____

Re: _____

Date: _____
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
96	4/30/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	2	—	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
97	4/30/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	1	—	" " "
98	4/30/54	N.Y. Times	2	—	" " "
99	4/30/54	N.Y. Times	2	—	" " "
100	5/3/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	2	—	" " "
101	5/7/54	N.Y. Post	1	—	" " "
102	5/7/54	N.Y. World Telegram & Sun	1	—	" " "
103	5/7/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	1	—	" " "
104	6/1/54	N.Y. Times	2	—	" " "
105	6/2/54	N.Y. Times	5	—	" " "
106	6/2/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	1	—	" " "
107	6/2/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	2	—	" " "

File No: _____

Re: _____

Date: _____
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
108	6/2/54	N.Y. Mirror	4	—	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
109	6/14/54	N.Y. Times	1	—	" " "
110	6/14/54	N.Y. Post	1	—	" " "
111	6/2/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	4	—	" " "
112	6/2/54	N.Y. Times	1	—	" " "
113	6/2/54	N.Y. Times	2	—	" " "
114	6/2/54	N.Y. World Telegram & Sun	1	—	" " "
115	6/2/54	N.Y. Post	2	—	" " "
116	6/2/54	N.Y. Post	3	—	" " "
117	6/2/54	N.Y. Journal American	4	—	" " "
118	6/2/54	N.Y. Brooklyn Eagle	3	—	" " "
119	6/2/54	N.Y. Post	5	—	" " "

File No: _____

Re: _____

Date: _____
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
120	6/2/54	N.Y. World Telegram & Sun	1	—	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
121	6/2/54	N.Y. World Telegram & Sun	1	1	
122	6/2/54	N.Y. World Telegram & Sun	3	—	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
123	6/3/54	N.Y. Times	3	—	" " "
124	6/3/54	N.Y. Mirror	2	2	
125	6/3/54	N.Y. Times	1	—	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
126	6/3/54	N.Y. Times	2	—	" " "
127	6/3/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	2	—	" " "
128	6/3/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	2	—	" " "
129	6/3/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	1	—	" " "
130	6/3/54	N.Y. News	2	—	" " "
131	6/3/54	N.Y. News	1	—	" " "

U. S. Department of Justice

(MATERIAL MUST NOT BE REMOVED FROM OR ADDED TO THIS FILE)

FEDERAL BUREAU
of
INVESTIGATION

See also Nos. _____

[Handwritten signature]
L. H. Smith
6-30-54

100-98666
Sub B
Newspaper clippings
Section 5
Serials 84-131
H. Jones

RAY TUCKER'S COLUMN

Congress Bids For Atom Control

The tragic lessons learned from revelations of Communist espionage and certain scientists' cloistered concepts of public affairs have been incorporated in the legislation now before Congress for military, civilian and international development of nuclear energy and A-H bombs. It is as fool-proof a law as the human mind can devise in an attempt to safeguard America's interests and destiny, and possibly the world's.

It embodies the experiences gained in all the Congressional and courtroom exposes of such dangerous individuals as Alger Hiss, Klaus Fuchs, the Rosenbergs and the smaller fry in the Red network here and abroad.

Although there is no comparison between these sinister figures and Dr. J. R. Oppenheimer, now accused of Communist associations and of scientific and humanitarian opposition to the H-bomb, the pending legislation—House Resolution 8862—eliminates the influence which universally and absent-minded theoreticians might have on turning over atomic secrets to American industry or to the world pool proposed by President Eisenhower in his United Nations address.

Without an almost impossible Russian repentance and reform, it bars the Soviet from participation in any international atomic organization.

Far-Seeing Men

Principal credit for incorporation of these safeguards belongs to the hard-headed members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, which consists of nine members of the House and nine from the Senate. It is composed of the most solid and far-seeing men in both bodies.

As the legislative blueprint reached this group from the Atomic Energy Commission, it was completely unsatisfactory. It vested almost exclusive control over atomic matters, military and civilian in the President and the AEC.

Despite complete trust in Eisenhower and AEC Chairman Lewis L. Strauss, an original H-bomb advocate, the committee realized that it was writing a basic law for future control of nature's greatest destructive force.

The Cole-Hickenlooper group concluded that it could not afford to leave loopholes for tomorrow's unknown officials, politicians, scientists or possibly Russian sympathizers.

As a result, the rewritten legislation gives Congress an absolute veto over any White House or AEC program for industrializing and internationalizing this awful force. It requires AEC to obtain the Defense Department's viewpoint on domestic or foreign military aspects. It requires periodical AEC reports to Congress, including data on all "disputes" with the Pentagon on major problems.



Late News

CLIPPING FROM THE

N.Y. BROOKLYN EAGLE

APR 22 1954

DATED

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100-9066-B-88

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FBI - NEW YORK	

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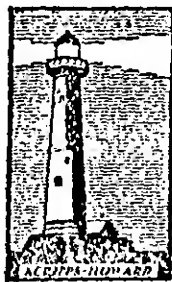
Russia Can't Fit in Picture

It provides that neither AEC nor the President may make any "arrangement" for domestic industrial or international use without the approval of Congress. But it carefully and deliberately eliminates the possibility that domestic or foreign defense secrets based on atomic weapons shall be publicized through Congressional hearings or debates.

By using the phrase, "arrangement," the law stipulates that agreements with our Allies need not be treaties. Thus, Congress could handle these matters secretly, although kept fully informed of their import and implications.

It is difficult to see how Russia can ever comply with requirements for membership in a world atomic pool. For the law provides that the President and Congress must determine (1) "that the co-operating party does not threaten the security of the United States," and (2) "that the proposed agreement will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense and security of the United States."

It is extremely dubious that Moscow will ever fit into that atomic canvas.



New York World-Telegram

and The Sun

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'Give Light & the People Will Find Their Own Way.'

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1951.

Editorials

Oppie Still Knows.

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, according to the board which examined him, his antecedents and his actions, is a "loyal" and "discreet" American citizen, who nevertheless is not to be trusted with any future secrets of the Atomic Energy Commission.

You, who read this, are no more confused than we are, who have devoted the last several hours to reading the majority and minority reports culled from several thousand pages of testimony.

The board which made this finding was bound by the security regulations. It could not find otherwise than that Dr. Oppenheimer had been guilty of bad judgment in the company he kept, that like most scientists he had been naive in his political opinions. The board hardly could do other than resolve all doubts in favor of national security.

Yet there is no finding that Dr. Oppenheimer ever betrayed our country in any way. It was under his supervision that the United States developed the A-bomb and later the H-bomb. Those achievements no one can take from him. Any denial of the Atomic Energy Commission's future secrets may deny the United States more than it denies Dr. Oppenheimer.

We can't forget that it was Albert Einstein, a dedicated international lefty, who first warned President Roosevelt by way of a letter through Dr. Sachs, that there was danger that the Germans might develop an atom bomb and thus win the war. As a result, a committee of scientists was called together to consider the project. Eventually, the group included the foremost nuclear brains of the world—Bethe, Meitner, Szilard, Fermi and so on—many of them thrown out of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy for their left-wing leanings and many considerably more left-wing than Dr. Oppenheimer. Traitors crept in, too. Men like Dr. Fuchs and Dr. Nunn May.

But one cannot avoid the feeling that if at first the United States had applied to all the men whose collective brains made nuclear fission a reality, the same rigorous criteria which have been applied to Dr. Oppenheimer in the present instance, the A-bomb might not have been made at all.

Come to think of it, we wish it hadn't.

CLIPPING FROM THE

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM & SUN

JUN 2 1951

FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

100-9066-B-121

Fischer HTE

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE DAILY MIRROR
NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 3, 1954

*"Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."
John, viii, 32.*

The Problem of Security

THE DECISION OF THE PANEL in the Oppenheimer case will be praised or attacked, as such things are. Already Dr. Oppenheimer's counsel has taken the position that the decision itself is inconsistent in the sense that while it grants that his loyalty is not impugned, security availability is denied him.

There is no inconsistency in that.

It must be assumed that most Americans are loyal to their country. Otherwise, we should already be a conquered nation. Loyalty can be as much a habit as an act of will.

Security is a very complicated process. A blabbermouth who salutes the flag ardently, who would give his life for his country, who hates its enemies, may be refused security clearance not because he is disloyal but because he is psychologically so constituted that he must tell everything that he knows and he tells it to the wrong people at the wrong time.

A homosexual may be a loyal citizen, but he ought not to have security clearance because he is subject to blackmail. A drunkard or an alcoholic may be a fervent warrior for his native land, but he ought not to have security clearance because no one can tell what he will do or say when he is in his cups.

Men married to Communist women or vice versa, or those who constantly associate with Communists; men or women who, while not themselves Marxists or Communists, have an affinity for those who are Marxists or Communists, who like to be in their company, who are stimulated by their conversation and ideas, are not good security risks because birds of a feather flock together.



Dr. Oppenheimer

Final
CLIPPING FROM THE

N.Y. MIRROR
JUN 3 1954

DATED
FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

100-9066-B-124

Forsha NTR

IN A WORD, when it comes to security, the decision must be made not on a basis of abstract justice but strictly in favor of the United States.

This means that many loyal Americans must be excluded from security positions and security information not because they are disloyal but for psychological and social reasons.

The case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer is particularly a peculiar one because he is one of the three or four top men who were responsible for the production of the atom bomb. His scientific attainments are of the highest order. His genius in his own field is unquestioned.

What motivated the panel investigation of Dr. Oppenheimer undoubtedly was his conduct in relationship to the hydrogen bomb, the development of which he opposed and an agitation against which a number of scientists, under his leadership, supported.

In the broadest sense, this involves moral attitudes as well as political maturity. Many scientists were shocked at the consequences of the atom bomb. They suffered a guilt complex. They felt that they had partaken in mass murder. They tried to establish an atmosphere of opposition to the further use of the bomb as a weapon of war.

Up to a point, it could be assumed that these men were motivated by the most profound moral considerations. After it was discovered that Dr. Klaus Fuchs had stolen the atom bomb, that the Rosenberg-Greenglass, etc., ring had placed an apparatus in Los Alamos; that Russia actually possessed the atom bomb as a result of this espionage and theft—then it ceased to be possible that these scientists were basing their postulates upon morality. The politics of the agitation became clear, and the public assumed that for some reason these men who gave every evidence of being loyal Americans in some matters favored Soviet Russia.

THIS THEN RAISES a very mixed and confused area of opinion and judgment. At what point of human responsibility must a man subordinate his private conscience to his public position?

In our country, a man can always resign from a public position. There is no compulsion for him to hold any public position. It may be advantageous to him, but no man can be forced to accept or hold a public position against his will and against his conscience. His alternative is to resign and to state why.

These are the basic principles involved in the Oppenheimer situation. No allegation as to his loyalty is made; no attack on his faithfulness is made. His judgment is impugned and therefore he is declared to be a security risk. He has the right to appeal this decision, but he cannot alter principles of public employment, which are that Congress determines the policy of the United States, not the private conscience of each individual.

FILE DESCRIPTION

NEW YORK FILE

SUBJECT Robert Oppenheimer

FILE NO. 100-9066

VOLUME NO. 4
Sub Sec. B

SERIALS 132

thru
182

File No: 100-9066-B

Re: ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

Date:

2/78

(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages	
			Actual	Released
132	6/3/54	N.Y. Mirror	1	—
133	6/3/54	N.Y. Journal American	1	—
134	6/3/54	N.Y. Post	2	—
135	6/3/54	N.Y. World Telegram & Sun	1	—
136	6/3/54	N.Y. Brooklyn Eagle	1	—
137	6/3/54	N.Y. Journal American	1	—
138	6/4/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	2	—
139	6/4/54	N.Y. World Telegram & Sun	1	—
140	6/4/54	N.Y. Brooklyn Eagle	1	—
141	6/4/54	N.Y. Post	1	—
142	6/4/54	N.Y. World Telegram & Sun	1	—
143	6/4/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	2	—

Exemptions used or, to whom referred
(Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)

outside the R case

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File No: 100-9068-B

Re: ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

Date:

2/78

(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages	
			Actual	Released
144	6/4/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	2	-
145	6/4/54	N.Y. Mirror	1	-
146	6/4/54	N.Y. Times	3	-
147	6/4/54	N.Y. News	1	-
148	6/7/54	N.Y. Times	1	-
149	6/7/54	N.Y. Brooklyn Eagle	2	-
150	6/7/54	N.Y. Post	1	-
151	6/7/54	N.Y. World Telegram & Sun	2	-
152	6/7/54	N.Y. Journal American	2	-
153	6/7/54	N.Y. Post	2	-
154	6/7/54	N.Y. Mirror	1	-
155	6/7/54	N.Y. News	2	-

Exemptions used or, to whom referred
(Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)

outside the R case

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File No: 100-9066-B

Re: ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

Date:

2/78

(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
156	6/7/54	N.Y. Times	3	-	outside the R case
157	6/7/54	N.Y. Mirror	1	-	outside the R case
158	6/7/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	3	-	outside the R case
159	6/7/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	2	-	outside the R case
160	6/7/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	3	-	outside the R case
161	6/7/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	2	-	outside the R case
162	6/8/54	N.Y. Times	1	+	outside the R case
163	6/8/54	N.Y. Times	4	-	outside the R case
164	6/8/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	3	-	outside the R case
165	6/8/54	N.Y. Brooklyn Eagle	1	+	outside the R case
166	6/8/54	N.Y. Times	3	-	outside the R case
167	6/8/54	N.Y. Mirror	1	+	outside the R case

File No: 100-9066-BRe: ROBERT OPPENHEIMERDate: 2/78
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
168	6/8/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	2	-	outside the R case
169	6/8/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	1	-	outside the R case
170	6/8/54	N.Y. Brooklyn Eagle	1	-	outside the R case
171	6/8/54	N.Y. Journal American	1	-	outside the R case
171	6/8/54	N.Y. Journal American	2	-	outside the R case
172	6/8/54	N.Y. Post	1	-	outside the R case
173	6/8/54	N.Y. Brooklyn Eagle	1	-	outside the R case
174	6/8/54	N.Y. World Telegram & Sun	1	-	outside the R case
175	6/8/54	N.Y. Post	1	-	outside the R case
176	6/8/54	N.Y. Post	1	-	outside the R case
177	6/9/54	N.Y. Herald Tribune	1	-	outside the R case
178	6/9/54	N.Y. Times	1	-	outside the R case

Date: 2/78
(month/year)

701/00.

U. S. Department of Justice

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FEDERAL BUREAU
of
INVESTIGATION

See also Nos. _____

100-9066
Subfile B
Subgroup 4

Section 4
Subfile 1325-182

R
J
J. W. Smith
7-3-37
H. J. ...

FILE DESCRIPTION

NEW YORK FILE

SUBJECT Robert Oppenheimer

FILE NO. 100-9066

VOLUME NO. 5
Sub "B"

SERIALS 183

thru

226

File No:

Re:

100-9066 ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

Date:

2/78
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
183	6-13-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE	3	3	
184	6-14-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE	2	2	
185	6-14-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. TIMES	3	3	
186	6-14-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE	1	1	
187	6-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. JOURNAL AMERICAN	1	1	
188	6-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. POST	2	2	
189	6-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. WORLD TELEGRAM + SUN	2	2	
190	6-16-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. NEWS	4	4	
191	6-16-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. TIMES	4	4	
192	6-16-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. TIMES	3	3	
193	6-16-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. MIRROR	2	2	
194	6-16-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE	3	3	

File No:

100-9066

Re:

ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

Date:

2/78

(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
195	4-14-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. POST	1	1	
196	4-14-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. JOURNAL AMERICAN	3	3	
197	4-14-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. POST	2	2	
198	4-14-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. POST	1	1	
199	4-14-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. BROOKLYN EAGLE	4	4	
200	4-14-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. JOURNAL AMERICAN	1	1	
201	4-14-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. BROOKLYN EAGLE	1	1	
202	4-14-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. POST	1	1	
203	4-14-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. BROOKLYN EAGLE	2	2	
204	4-14-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. BROOKLYN EAGLE	2	2	
205	4-14-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. WORLD TELEGRAM + SUN	2	2	
206	4-14-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. JOURNAL AMERICAN	2	2	

File No: 100-9066

Re: ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

Date: 2/78

(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
207	4-14-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. POST	2	2	
208	4-14-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. POST	3	3	
209	4-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. TIMES	1	1	
210	4-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. TIMES	2	2	
211	4-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. NEWS	2	2	
212	4-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE	2	2	
213	4-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. TIMES	2	2	
214	4-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. TIMES	3	3	
215	4-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. JOURNAL AMERICAN	3	3	
216	4-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. POST	1	1	
217	4-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. JOURNAL AMERICAN	1	1	
218	4-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. JOURNAL AMERICAN	1	1	

File No

100-9066

Re

ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

Date

2/78
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
219	4-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. WORLD TELEGRAM + SUN	2	2	
220	4-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. BROOKLYN EAGLE	2	2	
221	4-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. WORLD TELEGRAM + SUN	2	2	
222	4-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. POST	3	3	
223	4-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. JOURNAL AMERICAN	2	2	
224	4-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. POST	1	1	
225	4-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. JOURNAL AMERICAN	2	2	
226	4-15-54	CLIPPING FROM N.Y. JOURNAL AMERICAN	3	3	

Oppenheimer Case: Nichols' Role

Now Up to A. E. C. Manager for Study and Recommendation

By Walter Kerr

This Washington dispatch brings into focus the various moves in the Oppenheimer case, which will be finally adjudicated by the Atomic Energy Commission.

WASHINGTON.

The case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, suspended atomic scientist, is now in the hands of the man who directs the largest industrial empire in the United States.

He is Maj. Gen. Kenneth D. Nichols, general manager of the Atomic Energy Commission, whose total investment in plant and equipment outstripped that of the General Motors Corp. two years ago, and within the last year moved ahead of the United States Steel Corp.

Operates in 20 States

Gen. Nichols, in effect, is president of this production complex which maintains more than fifty installations in twenty states, holds title to more land than the states of Rhode Island and Delaware combined, and consumes 5 per cent of the nation's output of electrical power.

He is not listed in "Who's Who in America," but his salary is \$20,000 a year, the same as that received by Rear Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, chairman of the A. E. C., and \$2,000 more than the salary received by the other four members of the commission.

Gen. Nichols, a forty-six-year-old West Point graduate, will not decide the Oppenheimer case. That is the function of the full commission. But it is his job to study the existing record, the report of the Gray board and the brief filed last week on behalf of Dr. Oppenheimer, and to make a recommendation to the commission. The commission may accept it or reject it by majority vote.

Case History

Here is a history of the case so far:

1. On June 30, 1953, Gordon Dean's last day as A. E. C. chairman, Dr. Oppenheimer's contract as A. E. C. consultant, was renewed for one year.

2. On July 3, Adm. Strauss became commission chairman and on July 7, at his request, the commission took steps to organize the removal of classified documents belonging to the commission from Dr. Oppenheimer's custody to a facility to be owned by the commission.

3. Subsequently, Dr. Oppenheimer's file underwent preliminary study by the commission and Department of Justice.

4. On Nov. 1, Gen. Nichols, who had retired from the Army to accept the post, became general manager of A. E. C.

5. By that time, the file had been brought up for definitive examination and appraisal in accordance with the security standards of the commission and the terms of the President's Executive Order No. 10,450 of April 27.

6. The Department of Justice brought the material therein to the attention of the President.

7. The President consulted with Adm. Strauss with Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson and with Arthur S. Flemming, director of the Office of Defense Mobilization. He then directed that a "blank wall" be placed between Dr. Oppenheimer and any secret data. He also directed that, without prejudging the outcome, established security procedures be followed.

8. On Dec. 21, Adm. Strauss and Gen. Nichols met with Dr. Oppenheimer.

9. On Dec. 22, Dr. Oppenheimer wrote a letter to Adm. Strauss. In it he said he had been told the day before (1) the charges were "familiar" charges; (2) that he could request termination of his contract and thereby avoid "explicit" consideration of the charges, or (3) that

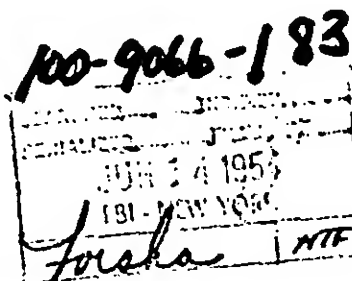
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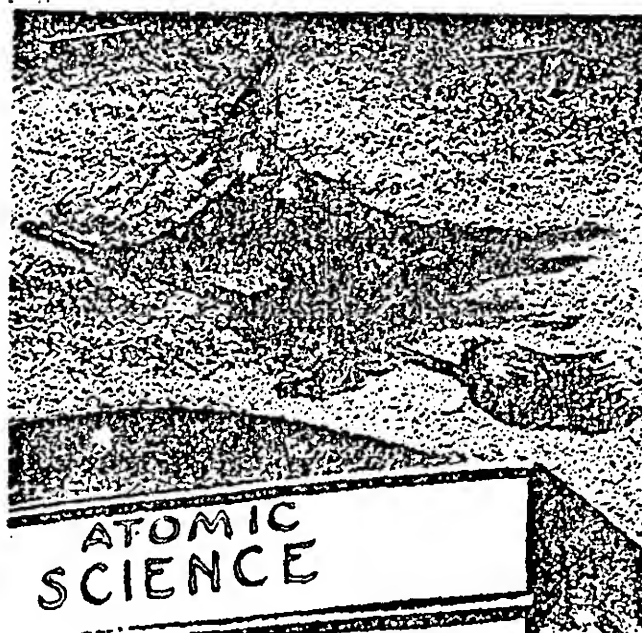
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ATOMIC SCIENCE

Strange Age We Are Living In

—Fitzpatrick, in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

If he did not do this within a day he would receive a letter notifying him of the suspension of his clearance and of the charges against him. Dr. Oppenheimer also said he could not request termination of his contract, for to do so would mean "that I accept and concur in the view that I am not fit to serve this government."

The Suspension

10. On Dec 23, Gen. Nichols wrote a letter to Dr. Oppenheimer suspending his clearance, listing the charges which he said raised questions "as to your veracity, conduct and even your loyalty," and explaining Dr. Oppenheimer's right to a hearing. He demanded a reply within thirty days.

11. Dr. Oppenheimer retained as his attorney Lloyd K. Garrison, of New York. John V. Davis later joined counsel.

12. On Jan. 18, 1954, Mr. Garrison and Gen. Nichols conferred on the question of the time limit and the matter of security clearance for Mr. Garrison so that he could examine a restricted number of classified documents.

Scientist's Reply

13. Later in January, and in February, requests for a postponement were granted, and Mr. Garrison wrote that he had decided not to request clearance.

14. On March 4, Dr. Oppenheimer signed his reply to the original charges, and it was delivered the following day. In this reply Dr. Oppenheimer acknowledged many allegations of past association with Communists, but again denied he ever was a Communist. He affirmed his loyalty to the United States and denied many accusations to the effect that he had opposed development of a hydrogen bomb after the Jan. 31, 1950, directive of former President Truman that the project be undertaken.

15. On March 26, Mr. Garrison wrote Gen. Nichols he had decided one of Dr. Oppenheimer's counsel should be cleared.

Gray Board Meets

16. On April 5, a personnel security board met for the first time. It was composed of Gordon Gray, president of the University of North Carolina; Thomas A. Morgan, former head of the Sperry Corp., and Dr. Ward V. Evans, chemistry

professor at Loyola University, Chicago. The board subsequently heard forty witnesses and took 3,000 pages of testimony.

17. On May 27, the board made its report to Gen. Nichols. By unanimous vote it found Dr. Oppenheimer a "loyal" and "discreet" citizen of the United States. By a 2-to-1 vote, with Dr. Evans dissenting, it found Dr. Oppenheimer a security risk.

18. On May 28, Gen. Nichols transmitted this report to Dr. Oppenheimer, telling him he could appeal to a personnel security review board within five days and file a brief within twenty days or, if he waived appeal, that he, Gen. Nichols,

would make a final determination "on the basis of the existing record."

19. On June 1, Mr. Garrison and Mr. Davis made public the majority and minority reports and Gen. Nichols' letter. It also made public a sixteen-page reply, contesting the majority recommendation and waiving appeal to a review board. This reply requested permission to file a brief and make oral argument before the full A. E. C.

20. On June 3, Gen. Nichols answered the reply. He wrote that A. E. C. procedures "do not contemplate any further presentation by Dr. Oppenheimer, either oral or written." He did say, however, that "very careful consideration" would be given a written brief, but that the commission did not feel it could "accede to your suggestion that there be oral argument as well." The letter disclaimed any responsibility of the commission for delay in the case, and said Mr. Garrison's March 26 request for clearance for counsel had been received too late for processing prior to the Gray board hearings.

21. On June 8, Dr. Oppenheimer's new brief was filed with the A. E. C. It is now up to Gen. Nichols to study the case and send it to the commission with his recommendation.

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Little Known to Public

The Gen. Nichols who is so prominently mentioned in this matter is not widely known to the public, despite the size of the industrial empire he directs. It has been said that he could list his entire career in private business on a single line of his employment record:

"Delivery boy, Cleveland grocery store, 1923-'24."

Yet Gen. Nichols has a distinguished record. He was born in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1908. He went to West Point because his mother saw a movie called "Classmates" that stressed the excellence of the academy's engineering courses. He was graduated fifth in the class of 1929 and assigned to the Corps of Engineers.

After special study at Cornell and in Germany, he was assigned to West Point as an instructor and stayed there until the outbreak of World War II. On his first assignment after graduation, however, he had been sent to Nicaragua, and there he had met Maj. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, then a first lieutenant, later to be placed in over-all command of the atomic bomb project.

On Manhattan Project

Gen. Nichols was the second officer assigned to the Manhattan Engineer District, the secret organization that developed the bomb. Later he became engineer in charge, and as such his orders from Gen. Groves were staggering: Produce an atomic bomb at the earliest possible date.

Now, a lot of other men had similar orders, one of them being Dr. Oppenheimer who headed the Los Alamos project which

in fact did build a successful bomb.

But Gen. Nichols was in charge of the actual production process. He is the man who actually built the gaseous diffusion plant at Oak Ridge to produce the fissionable isotope U-235, and the Hanford works on the Columbia River to produce the man-made element, plutonium. A-bombs, scientists believed, could be made from either U-235 or plutonium.

Working on the design of the country's first atomic plants, Gen. Nichols had to consider that there were four possible ways of extracting U-235 from uranium, and that the choice among them was largely a matter of "guts and guesswork."

Then there was the problem of scheduling output, for a balance had to be struck between the urgent need for haste in production and the equally urgent need of quality to make sure the bomb would go off.

After the war, Gen. Nichols turned from making "big bombs" and in time was assigned to head the armed forces special weapons project. He fought hard for the 280-mm. atomic cannon. During one brisk discussion, an Air Force general remarked that he could not understand why the Army needed such a weapon.

Nichols' Retort

"We wouldn't need this cannon," Gen. Nichols retorted. "If the Air Force understood why ground troops need artillery support."

He got into the guided missile field in 1950, as deputy to K. T. Keller, chairman of the board of the Chrysler Corp. Last November, he became general manager of A. E. C., an assignment that quickly brought him into the Oppenheimer case, the case of a scientist with whom he had worked during the war.

The published letters he has written to Dr. Oppenheimer and Dr. Oppenheimer's attorneys betray no recollection of these war-time years.

100-9066-18

MATTER OF FACT

By JOSEPH and STEWART ALSOP

Behind Those Curtains

WASHINGTON.

The Atomic Energy Commission is like a dark and guarded room, from which muffled noises are occasionally heard. The noises have been pretty disquieting lately. There is, for example, a distinct noise of what had best be called markedly personal administration.

The new commission chairman, Adm. Lewis Strauss, is a man of great ability with a habit of resenting disagreements and cherishing old grudges. Since he assumed the commission chairmanship, a significant number of those who dared to disagree with him in the past have been made to suffer for it in one way or another.

The first on the list is Carroll Wilson, who did not get on with the Admiral in the days when Wilson was the A. E. C.'s general manager and Strauss was one of the commissioners. Wilson left the commission for private employment long ago; but he retained his Q-clearance, as the security clearance for atomic matters is called. Strauss had hardly been appointed to the chairmanship of the A. E. C. when an unusually intensive security investigation of Wilson was suddenly initiated. This might have been normal, except for one other thing. The Climax Uranium Co., of which Wilson was an officer, also received a pretty strong hint that Adm. Strauss should certainly have been consulted before such a man as Wilson was hired.

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The second case is that of Malcolm Henderson; another former employee of the A. E. C., who retained his Q-clearance after leaving the commission. As one of the designers of the long-range detection system that warns of Soviet atomic tests, Henderson is a man of some eminence. But he too had ventured to disagree with Strauss in the past, and he paid a double price.

First, Henderson was offered, and he accepted, the post of scientific adviser to the secretary of the National Security Council, Gen. Robert Cutler. Strauss heard about it, and the offer was immediately withdrawn. Then he took a position at the Civil Defense Administration, only to be notified that his Q-clearance had now been suspended by the A. E. C.

The excuse given to Henderson was that he had no further need of Q-clearance, and that the suspension was routine. When he made inquiries among old friends at the A. E. C., however, he obtained indisputable proof that Adm. Strauss had directly and actively intervened.

Nothing came of Wilson's security investigation. Henderson has gone on to other work; and except for the principle of the thing, Adm. Strauss' curiously personal use of the security machinery has not mattered to him. Somewhat different was the case of R. Gordon Arneson, another man who had argued with the Admiral.

Arneson had served for eight years, and with some distinction, as the State Department liaison officer with the A. E. C., when he was called one day to the office of Under Secretary of State W. Bedell Smith. There he was bluntly informed that Adm. Strauss did not like him. And

he was told that he could have another job, but must end his work as A. E. C. liaison officer without further ado.

In the same fashion, Strauss has also sought to make trouble for at least one high official of the Defense Department, who had not concealed his opinion that the attack on Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer would impair the partnership between science and government. There are rumors, but only rumors, of other reprisals within the A. E. C. And finally there is the Oppenheimer case itself, with its quite openly personal element, known to the whole scientific fraternity.

The formal proceeding against Dr. Oppenheimer was set on foot at the beginning of November, by one of the usual informer's letters purporting to give new derogatory data. Because of the alleged new data, the P. B. I. sent Oppenheimer's file to the A. E. C. at the end of the month.

The other commissioners had had no warning of what was afoot. The majority were wholly unimpressed by the new data in the file. They remembered how often Oppenheimer had already been investigated and cleared. They expected nothing to happen. But Adm. Strauss went privately to the President, without consulting his colleagues. He persuaded Eisenhower to give the famous "blank wall" order. And he then confronted the other commissioners with this accomplished fact.

After that, Strauss left for the Bermuda conference. Thus the duty of suspending Dr. Oppenheimer's security clearance devolved upon the acting A. E. C. chairman, Dr. Henry C. Smyth. Dr. Smyth held that this was a decision intimately affecting the commission's operations, which had been taken without consulting the commission. He therefore refused to act; and Oppenheimer's clearance was finally suspended by Adm. Strauss himself, when he returned from Bermuda.

The incident has a special interest, in view of Adm. Strauss' testimony before the Joint Congressional Committee that he had never taken any decision affecting the commission's operations without first consulting his fellow commissioners.

More generally, all these incidents raise certain questions. Adm. Strauss' capacities are beyond doubt. The country owes him a debt for his role in the hydrogen bomb debate, and an even bigger debt for forcing the adoption of the long-range detection system.

But can the Admiral's highly personal methods be healthily combined with the protective secrecy of the A. E. C.? Is he well qualified to sit as chief judge of appeal in the Oppenheimer case, when he was the man who secured the indictment and when he is known to cherish a strong enmity toward Dr. Oppenheimer? And since the ruling that a man can be a security risk who is admittedly completely loyal and impeccably discreet, will every one be a security risk who dares to argue with Adm. Strauss?

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GENERAL MANAGER OF A. E. C. SUPPORTS OPPENHEIMER BAN

Nichols Called More Critical
of Scientist Than Majority
Finding of Gray Board

BUT 'LOYALTY' IS LAUDED

Issue Develops Over Release
by Commission of Testimony
Taken at Panel's Hearing

By JAMES RESTON

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 13—Maj. Gen. Kenneth D. Nichols, general manager of the Atomic Energy Commission, has drafted his recommendation in the Oppenheimer security case. It supports the Gray board's finding that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer is "loyal" but should not be retained as a consultant to the commission.

Thus, the famous atomic scientist has lost another round—the next to the last—in his long fight to be restored as a reliable servant of his Government.

The Nichols recommendation has not been delivered in final form to the members of the A. E. C., but this will be done later this week when the five-man commission will begin the final step in the proceedings.

Meanwhile, General Nichols has discussed his recommendation with commission members. It is understood that his letter to the A. E. C. is more critical of Dr. Oppenheimer than the majority finding of the Gray board.

Board Praised Discretion

This board, headed by Gordon Gray, former Secretary of the Army and now president of the University of North Carolina, unanimously praised Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty and discretion but voted, 2 to 1, that he must be classified under the Administration's regulations as a security risk.

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A new issue developed during the week-end over the release of the testimony in the case. In the course of its investigation, the Gray board took 3,800 pages of testimony, including two days of examination and cross-examination of Dr. Oppenheimer.

It is understood that Rear Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, chairman of the A. E. C., proposed yesterday that this testimony, minus Federal Bureau of Investigation reports and other security information, should be published at once.

There is reason for saying that Mr. Gray, whose report has been the subject of considerable favorable and unfavorable criticism, now takes the same view. Indeed, he is said to have written to the commission saying so.

Since all members of the commission were not available yesterday and today, a decision on publication was postponed. Meanwhile, it was learned that Dr. Oppenheimer tended to favor publication, though his attorneys, Lloyd Garrison and John W. Davis of New York, were said to have opposed publication at the present time.

Cole Doubts New Inquiry

The chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, Representative W. Sterling Cole, Republican of upstate New York, said today in a televised interview that he could not "foresee a development which might cause the committee to make a further inquiry into the Oppenheimer case."

He added that he assumed the committee's interest in holding hearings on the case would depend "largely on what the eventual outcome is determined to be."

After the television program, he explained this by saying that, if the commission upheld the majority finding of the Gray board, the Joint Congressional Committee would not look into it, but that, "if the commission reverses itself and clears Dr. Oppenheimer, then we may hold hearings."

This position by the chairman of the powerful joint committee raises another controversy. Mr. Cole assumes that the five atomic energy commissioners actually agreed to proceed with the Oppenheimer case and to lift Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance after detailed study of the case.

The commissioners, however, are far from agreement on this point. Some of them take the view that they were not given any alternative in the case, that Chairman Strauss went to the White House last Dec. 3 at the request of President Eisenhower

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A. E. C. AIDE BACKS OPPENHEIMER BAN

Continued From Page 1

to discuss reports on Dr. Oppenheimer sent to the White House by the F. B. I. and that they were ordered to proceed with the Oppenheimer security case in a written directive from the President.

Thus the position of at least two of the commissioners is that the commission did not have an opportunity to look into the matter in any detail, and that they still do not know what took place in the White House meeting of Dec. 3.

The pressure on General Nichols and the five commissioners to prepare themselves to pass judgment on the case has been so great that they have had little time for anything else.

In addition to the 3,800 pages of testimony, there are another 3,000 pages of documents to be studied. While the commission is scheduled to start discussing

the case later this week, all the commissioners have not yet had time to read, let alone to study, all the documents in the case.

General Nichols, whose duty it is as administrative officer of the commission, to pass on security cases, worked with Dr. Oppenheimer on the atomic bomb project during World War II. At that time, he was the second engineer, then first engineer in charge of the Manhattan Engineer District when Dr. Oppenheimer was in charge of the Los Alamos part of the operation.

After the war, General Nichols headed the special weapons project at the Pentagon, and for a time was deputy to K. T. Keller in the Army's guided missiles program.

He sat with Chairman Strauss at the A. E. C. on Dec. 21, 1953, when Dr. Oppenheimer was told for the first time that his security clearance was about to be lifted. Thereafter, General Nichols sent and received all the official letters in the case.

His recommendation that Dr. Oppenheimer's "Q" clearance should not be restored is expected to be handed to the commission in final form within the next two or three days.

CRITICAL OF OPPENHEIMER

Head of Brandeis Calls Him
'Uneducated Educated' Man

WALTHAM, Mass., June 13

(P)—Dr. Abram L. Sachar, president of Brandeis University, described Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer today in a commencement speech "as surely one of the most uneducated educated men of our time."

"With all of his unquestioned idealism, with all of his devotion to our country and its democratic heritage, Dr. Oppenheimer was completely unprepared to face the problems of citizenship," Dr. Sachar said.

The six-year-old university, holding its third commencement, presented honorary degrees to Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Senator Herbert H. Lehman, Democrat of New York; Dr. Selman Waksman, Nobel Prize-winning microbiologist of Rutgers University; Dr. Buell Gordon Gallagher, president of City College of New York; Dr. Alvin Johnson, founder of the New School for Social Research, New York, and Morris Shapiro, Brandeis trustee. Bachelor's degrees were awarded to 159 seniors.

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A.E.C. May By-Pass Nichols In Oppenheimer Decision

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 13.—The possibility that the Atomic Energy Commission has decided to proceed directly to consideration of the case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, suspended atomic scientist, was mentioned here today.

Rep. W. Sterling Cole, R., N. Y., chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, appearing on the CBS televised "Man of the Week" program, said there was "some indication" the five-man commission had decided to by-pass the commission's general manager, Maj. Gen. Kenneth D. Nichols.

Gen. Nichols was the man who informed Dr. Oppenheimer of the charges that had been made against him and of the suspension of his security clearance, which had been ordered by President Eisenhower.

Gen. Nichols also told Dr. Oppenheimer that he would make his own recommendation

to the A. E. C. after studying the existing record, including the report of the personnel security board, headed by Gordon Gray, president of the University of North Carolina.

The Gray board found Dr. Oppenheimer both "loyal" and "discreet" but it recommended against reinstatement of his security clearance on the ground he was a security risk. The negative finding was contained in a 2-to-1 majority report.

According to Rep. Cole, the A. E. C. may have decided to skip study of the case by Gen. Nichols, and proceed to a final verdict on the basis of the existing record, the Gray report and a brief filed on behalf of Dr. Oppenheimer.

This would indicate that a decision may be forthcoming sooner than had been anticipated, in any case before June 30 when Dr. Oppenheimer's suspended clearance would expire automatically with the expiration of his one-year contract as a consultant to the A. E. C.

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AEC Chiefs Called

WASHINGTON, June 15 (AP).--Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) officials were summoned to Capitol Hill today to explain power negotiations which Rep. Hollifield (D-Calif.) says may cost the government millions of dollars.

Chairman Strauss and other AEC officials were called by the Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee to a special one-day meeting to discuss contract negotiations for a new 600,000 kilowatt power

plant in the area of West Memphis, Ark.

Afternoon

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Frederick NTC



=By Dr. Frank Kingdon

If this is what they intended to say, why did they not say it? They may be right or wrong about their estimate of his judgment, but they were the men chosen to make the decision, and it would have been accepted as their estimate. It would have represented the kind of personal evaluation which has to go into the selection of any individual in any kind of organization for a particular post.

Even the first cursory reading raised the question of how the authors could reconcile their agreement that he was both loyal and discreet with their statement that they could not "recommend reinstatement of clearance." A rereading brought out the curious emphasis on the assertion that he was not "enthusiastic" enough about certain political decisions affecting his work.

Most surprising of all was what I caught on third reading, and what Walter Lippmann has discussed: the statement: "It seemed to us that an alternative recommendation would be possible, if we were allowed to exercise mature practical judgment without the rigid circumspection of regulations and criteria established for us." This can mean nothing except that the board was not allowed independent judgment, and that they would have made a different decision if independent judgment had been allowed them.

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We do not have to search far to find the nature of the interference which introduced contradictions into the report and compelled its authors to say that its conclusion was not the one that recommended itself to their "mature practical judgment."

It was political. Its essential basis may be thus expressed: "Scientists are technicians employed to carry out unquestioningly the plans devised by political officials, and, if they express opinions about these plans implying criticism of them, they must be considered to be venturing outside their field of usefulness, to be potential hindrances to the consummation of the plans, and to be disqualified from participating further in them."

The same principle was applied to the board investigating Dr. Oppenheimer, and may be thus stated: "You are not being asked for your judgment as mature and practical men on the individual before you. Your function is unquestioningly to apply to him the standards which we set, to apply them rigidly, and, if necessary, to submerge your own opinions in coming to your decision."

There are at least two difficulties in this approach that occur to me. First, I find in the limitation put upon the scientist a denial of his personal dignity as a human being, which, in operation, will make it impossible for sensitive men of active intelligence to accept government service. Second, I cannot believe that an approach is good for the country which deprives the country of the services of a man of the genius of Dr. Oppenheimer. To exclude him from the country's secrets excludes the country from the secrets in his head.

What this case demonstrates is the need for a sober reevaluation of the security system of the United States. We are a strong people who will be all the stronger for practicing confidence in each other and in our institutions. We have no need to fear brilliant men of independent mind. There is a place for every one of them in the pursuit and defense of democracy as we enjoy it.

100-9066-B-188

Dictator Business

By INEZ ROBB

By and large we Americans never have had much stomach for dictatorships, although we usually can dredge up a minor-league Huey



Inez Robb

Long who is willing to give it a whirl—if he gets the chance. The methods of dictators are apt to be a bit too abrupt and unilateral for our taste. Still, there is this to be said for the Bully Boys: They are far better equipped to deal with dispatch and efficiency in the case of a Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer than are we of the democracies.

Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini never would have permitted such a case to come to its present pass, embarrassing to the nation which owes the scientist considerable gratitude.

On the one hand, a federal board has found Dr. Oppenheimer a most loyal and close-mouthed customer. On the other hand, it has refused to reinstate his clearance for super-secret A- and H-bomb work or consultation.

To a great many persons this action seems comparable to locking the barn doors after the theft of Native Dancer. For it must be obvious that Dr. Oppenheimer has forgotten more about the pesky, split atom, its hydrogen affinity and nuclear didoes in general than 999 physicists out of a thousand ever will grasp.

For no one, not even his enemies, has yet arisen to deny that Dr. Oppenheimer is one of the world's authentic, dyed-in-the-wool geniuses. So how do we keep the mind of an Oppenheimer at dead-center? How do we immobilize it?

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How do we prevent it from out-guessing scientists in the hermetically sealed government laboratories and, by pure deduction and genius, determine with reasonable accuracy what the wizards are up to?

Here, indeed, is a very large crux. Dr. Oppenheimer is a man who knows too much, than which nothing is more dangerous in this best of all possible worlds.

Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin would have known how to deal with this situation. They would have taken the doctor out and there would have been an accident, fatal, alas. And that would have disposed of the matter. Indeed, during the war years, when Dr. Oppenheimer was one of the key figures in the Manhattan Project, neither he nor any other chief protagonist in the A-bomb labs, ever went any place without being tailed.

Uncle Sam was taking no chances on treachery in any direction. He could no more afford to have Dr. Oppenheimer or his associates run down and killed in a street accident or "fall" down an elevator shaft than he could afford for these men to hand a blueprint of the bomb to Stalin's or Hitler's agents.

As for the present Oppenheimer case, the Stalins and Hitlers had a final and tidy way of handling such matters. Granted that their solution wasn't democratic, still and all it may have been kinder.

100-9066-B-189

Transcript on Oppy: 'Good Yank' and 'Red'

Washington, D. C., June 15 (AP).—Atomic scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer was variously pictured at his recent security hearing as a probable Russian agent who had "at least one Communist mistress" and as a patriotic American, a transcript of the proceedings showed tonight.

The praise for Oppenheimer came from Gordon Dean, former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. The condemnation came from William L. Borden, former executive secretary of the Senate-House Atomic Committee.

The two were among many who testified in the lengthy hearing conducted by a special AEC security board. The board ruled on May 27, that Oppenheimer was a loyal American, but decided by a vote of 2 to 1 that he was a security risk not entitled to access to atomic data.

Another witness, Dr. Edward Teller, a leading nuclear physicist, testified that the H-bomb might have been developed four years earlier if Oppenheimer and others had tackled the project with the same fervor applied to atomic work during the war.

Teller, generally credited with breaking the bottleneck in H-bomb development, said he had no doubts as to Oppenheimer's loyalty but "would feel personally more secure if public matters would rest in other hands."

Dean Backs Him.

Oppenheimer, a principal builder of the A-bomb, has denied he ever was a Communist, although he said he did have Red associations in the past. He has expressed complete devotion to America, and Dean backed him with these words:

"He is a very human man, a sensitive man, a very well-educated man, a man of complete integrity in my association with him. And a very devoted man to his country, and certainly to the commission.



J. Robert Oppenheimer
Called Red; also white and blue.

No question of these things in my mind."

Borden read a letter he said he wrote to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover Nov. 7, 1953. The letter related a series of charges against Oppenheimer, most of which had been brought out—and denied by Oppenheimer—but which Borden said justified the belief that Oppenheimer willingly spied for the Soviets.

Borden said of Oppenheimer: "He had no close friends except Communists."

"He had at least one Communist mistress."

"He belonged only to Communist organizations, apart from professional affiliations."

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Pal of Spies, He Says.

"He was in frequent contact with Soviet espionage agents."

Borden also said his opinion that Oppenheimer "more probably than not is an agent of the Soviet Union" was based on "evidence indicating" he hired a number of Communists for the A-bomb project and supported the H-bomb until an A-bomb was dropped on Hiroshima—"on which day he personally urged each senior individual working in this field to desist."

Borden's letter was admitted to the record over the objections of counsel for Oppenheimer, who protested against bringing in a witness "to make this kind of an accusation not dreamed of in this proceeding up to this point."

The 992-page volume of the transcript of the security board hearings had been distributed for publication at noon tomorrow. However radio commentator Fulton Lewis Jr. broadcast excerpts tonight, saying he was "deliberately violating" the restriction as to time of publication.

"Tired of Leaks."

Noting that Oppenheimer's lawyers already had made some document texts public and that they had issued what he called "propaganda statements," Lewis said:

"I, for one, am tired of the phony business of reports and documents being leaked to a selected if motley collection of the leftwing press, while the rest of the news world toddles along behind."

In another facet of the case, lawyers for Oppenheimer released a brief they had submitted to the AEC June 7, asking the commission to clear Oppenheimer for work on atomic projects on the grounds that he is "unquestionably loyal."

(Continued on page 6, col. 1)

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Transcript on Oppy: 'Good Yank' and 'Red'

(Continued from page 3)

discreet and has "rendered great public service."

The lawyers, headed by Lloyd K. Garrison, were asking the AEC to overrule the 2-1 vote of the board.

Among the charges which led to the security hearing was one that Oppenheimer dragged his feet on development of the hydrogen bomb. He headed a group of scientists who unanimously advised the AEC in 1949 against proceeding with a full-scale effort to develop the hydrogen bomb.

Asked about his views, Oppenheimer told the security board he had "grave concern and anxiety," but denied he had "a moral revulsion against the production of such a dreadful weapon."

"Beautiful, Dreadful"

At one point, referring to the H-bomb, Oppenheimer said "even (though) from a technical point of



Gordon Dean
Backed Oppy as patriot.

view it was a sweet and lovely and beautiful job, I have still thought it was a dreadful weapon."

But after President Truman decided in January, 1950, to go ahead with the H-bomb project, Oppenheimer said he never asked reconsideration of the decision, that he never opposed the project further, and he considered his statements "essentially neutral."

Questioned as to whether his statements discouraged scientists from working on the project, Oppenheimer said he thought the results of his statements would be "nil" in that respect.

Oppenheimer said he first discussed the possibility of an H-bomb in 1942 and although a large amount of work was not done on it then, "it was kept on the back burner throughout the war."

As early as 1942, Oppenheimer added, he and other scientists had in mind a hydrogen bomb that would have "10,000 times the power of the atom bomb."

Teller testified that he first gained support for his H-bomb plan from Oppenheimer in June, 1951. He quoted Oppenheimer as saying he would never have opposed it at the start if such an idea had been suggested then.

At that time, Teller said, he put forward his "new approach" at a meeting of nuclear scientists, with Oppenheimer presiding, at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton.

"Frankly I went to that meeting with very considerable misgivings because I expected that the general advisory committee, and particularly Dr. Oppenheimer, would further oppose the development," Teller testified, adding:

"By that time we had evolved something which amounted to a new approach, and after listening to the evidence of both the test and the theoretical investigations on that new approach, Dr. Oppenheimer warmly supported this new approach."

Teller was asked what he thought would happen to nuclear work in the United States if Oppenheimer would "go fishing for the rest of his life."

His reply was that Oppenheimer is an excellent physicist and administrator but that as a member of an advisory committee he could "go fishing without affecting the

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work of these who are actively engaged in the work."

"More of a Hindrance."

Teller said he found Oppenheimer's "general recommendations" had been "more a hindrance than a help" in committee work. But he said Oppenheimer's administrative activities during the war at the Los Alamos, N. M., atomic proving grounds added up to a "very outstanding achievement."

Before witnesses testified in the secret hearings, Chairman Gordon Gray of the security board cautioned them that the proceedings were confidential and that "the commission will take no initiative in the public release of any information relating to these proceedings."

In releasing the 992 pages of hearings, which gave a behind-the-scenes picture not only of the celebrated security case but of momentous developments in the field of the atom and hydrogen bomb, the commission noted that Oppenheimer's attorneys had released the text of some documents and added:

"In the present circumstances, release of the transcripts, within the limits of security, will in the opinion of the commission best serve the public interest."

Some Kept Secret.

Some of the testimony dealing with secrets was withheld from the transcript were made public tonight.

Oppenheimer's attorneys presented their brief of the AEC on June 7 and released it tonight.

Dean testified from a background that included membership on the AEC from May, 1949, to June, 1953. He was chairman from mid-1950 until he left the commission. He told the security board he had read all the FBI reports about Oppenheimer and other data and was completely convinced of his loyalty.

Speaking of the security hearings, Dean added: "I think his (Oppenheimer's) usefulness has been impaired by all this. I don't know how much he can contribute further to his country, but I would hope we would get the maximum out of him. I am certain that he is devoted to his country and if given an opportunity to serve, will serve effectively as always."

Dean, under cross-examination, was asked if he would change his



Dr. Edward Teller
He'd "feel more secure."

opinion about Oppenheimer if Oppenheimer had told an Army intelligence officer "a fabrication and tissue of lies" about an alleged Russian espionage effort in the early days of the atom bomb project.

Dean insisted he wouldn't. He added, "There must have been some reason for it."

The reference was to lengthy testimony in which Oppenheimer conceded "I invented a cock-and-bull story" when questioned by intelligence officers.

Oppenheimer also agreed he had lied.

Roger Robb, attorney for the security board, asked: "Why did you do that, doctor?"

Oppenheimer: "Because I was an idiot."

Oppenheimer testified that an associate, Haakon Chevalier, had told him in Oppenheimer's pantry that a George Eltenton "had means of getting technical information to Soviet scientists."

Oppenheimer said he remarked, "but that is treason," or, "this is a terrible thing to do." But he admitted hiding Chevalier's identity and inventing a story about a "Mr.

X" approaching three people at the secret atomic project.

Oppenheimer said he was reluctant to mention Chevalier, whom he described as a close friend. He testified he knew his story would impede the investigation of the Russian espionage effort.

The Oppenheimer lawyers argued the commission should remember that the board's decision against clearing Oppenheimer was a 2-1 decision. They said the question essentially is one of whether Oppenheimer is to be available for employment not only by the commission but also by any other agency or government contractor that might wish to use him on a task requiring access to secret information.

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4-Year H-Bomb Lag Laid to Oppenheimer; His Counsel Says He Is Not a Security Risk

**Teller, Hydrogen Pioneer,
Charges Physicist Gave
No Moral Support**

By The United Press.

WASHINGTON, June 15.—The "father of the H-bomb" testified that the United States might have developed the weapon at least four years earlier if Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and others had given the project their "moral" support.

The former director of the Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee swore that Dr. Oppenheimer "more probably than not" was an espionage agent for Russia.

And Gordon Dean, former chairman of the Atomic Energy Committee, insisted that Dr. Oppenheimer, was loyal to the United States and was not a security risk.

These statements came from three of the forty witnesses in the secret investigation of Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty and security.

The Atomic Energy Commission's security panel on June 1 ruled that Dr. Oppenheimer, though loyal and discreet, was a



Associated Press

Dr. Edward Teller

security risk. Dr. Oppenheimer is the scientist credited with masterminding wartime development of the atomic bomb.

Their statements were dis-

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H-BOMB LAG LAID TO OPPENHEIMER

Continued From Page 1

closed with the release of the official transcript of the panel's hearings.

Dr. Edward Teller, Hungarian-born nuclear physicist credited with sparking post-war development of the H-bomb, blamed Dr. Oppenheimer for holding back United States development of the weapon.

William L. Borden, until early 1953 chief of the Congressional Atomic Committee staff, said he based his charge that Dr. Oppenheimer "probably" served Russian interests on his own "exhaustively considered opinion."

Mr. Borden cited among his reasons that Dr. Oppenheimer gave "substantial" sums to the Communist party, had "no close friends except Communists," had "at least one Communist mistress," had been "instrumental in securing recruits for the Communist party," and "was in frequent contact with Soviet espionage agents."

Dr. Teller said he considered Dr. Oppenheimer a loyal American who would not willingly breach security regulations. But, judging by Dr. Oppenheimer's attitude toward the hydrogen bomb and other atomic issues after the war, Dr. Teller said, he believed "one would be wiser not to grant [him security] clearance."

Dr. Teller's testimony and that of numerous other scientists became public shortly after Dr. Oppenheimer's attorneys had disclosed that they told the commission his lack of enthusiasm for the hydrogen bomb program was not a valid reason for labeling him a security risk.

They advanced the argument in an appeal filed with the commission last week and made public tonight.

The special panel voted 2 to 1 against reinstating Dr. Oppenheimer's security clearance.

Dr. Oppenheimer has appealed the decision of the security board, headed by Gordon Gray, former Army Secretary, directly to the commission. The board's ruling that the "Mr. Atom" of World War II was loyal but unsafe from a security standpoint has generally been condemned by organizations of scientists.

So the commission released the full transcript—except for parts involving state secrets—to the press. The commission distributed the 991-page document to the press shortly after 6 P. M. for release at noon tomorrow. But Fulton Lewis Jr., a radio commentator, broke the release and others followed with commission acquiescence.

Dean Praises Oppenheimer

Mr. Dean testified that Dr. Oppenheimer had "expressed enthusiasm" for and had gone to "great pains to help" the hydrogen bomb program after developments in the summer of 1951 had given the thermonuclear program great promise.

Mr. Dean also declared that he knew of "no instance" when Dr. Oppenheimer ever had discouraged other scientists from contributing to the program after President Truman ordered the hydrogen bomb into production in January, 1950.

The former commission chairman conceded, however, that some hydrogen bomb enthusiasts—notably Dr. Teller—"intimated" that Dr. Oppenheimer would not be cooperative. He suggested that Dr. Teller's trouble in recruiting scientists had stemmed more from his own limitations than from any opposition from Dr. Oppenheimer.

Mr. Dean insisted that he had studied all the derogatory information against Dr. Oppenheimer and was convinced he was completely loyal to his country and in no sense a security risk.

The commission said it would not hand down its decision on Dr. Oppenheimer's appeal until later this month. It said "the wide national interest and concern in the matter make inevitable and desirable close public examination of the final determination."

So, it said, release of the transcript "will in the opinion of the commission best serve the public interest."

The original commission charges against Dr. Oppenheimer, whose security clearance was suspended last December, said he had opposed hydrogen bomb development both before and after former President Truman ordered it in January, 1950. Dr. Oppenheimer said he had opposed a hydrogen bomb "crash program" in the fall of 1949 when it was discussed but had abandoned his

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opposition after the President's order.

Oppenheimer Judgment Decried

Dr. Teller's testimony was particularly significant because of the similarity in historic roles between his work on the hydrogen bomb and Dr. Oppenheimer's on the atomic bomb. There was no indication in the transcript how much the Gray board was influenced by Dr. Teller. But in announcing its decision, the board said Dr. Oppenheimer has manifested lack of enthusiasm for the hydrogen bomb.

Dr. Teller made it plain that he had little respect for Dr. Oppenheimer's judgment in many matters.

"I feel," he said, "that I would like to see the vital interests of this country in hands which I . . . trust more . . . If it is a question of wisdom and judgment, as demonstrated by actions since 1945, then I would say one would be wiser not to grant clearance."

"It is my belief that if at the end of the war some people like Dr. Oppenheimer would have lent moral support, not even their own work—just moral support—to work on the thermonuclear gadget, I think we could have kept at least as many people in Los Alamos as we then recruited in 1948 under very difficult conditions.

"I therefore believe that if we had gone to work in 1945 we could have achieved the thermonuclear bomb just about four years earlier . . ."

Los Alamos in New Mexico was the bomb laboratory over which Dr. Oppenheimer presided in World War II and where Dr. Teller and others perfected the hydrogen bomb designs tested at the United States Pacific proving ground in 1952 and this spring.

Dr. Teller went on to say that if the best wartime atomic brains had gone wholeheartedly into hydrogen-bomb work after the war, "we would have had the bomb in 1947"—five years before it actually was proved feasible.

Would Bar Arms Race

Dr. Oppenheimer testified before the three-man panel that he and some of his associates opposed getting into a hydrogen-bomb "arms race" in 1949, "even if we could."

" . . . We were infinitely more vulnerable and infinitely less likely to initiate the use of these weapons," he explained. He also said a world in which "great destruction" had been done would be "harder for America to live with than for the Communists to live with."

"This is an idea which I believe is still right, but I think what was not clear to us then and what is clearer to me now is that it probably lay wholly beyond our power to prevent the Russians somehow from getting ahead with it," he said.

"I think if we could have taken any action at that time which would have precluded their development of this weapon, it would have been a very good bet to take it."

Dr. Oppenheimer denied flatly the allegation that he had talked scientists out of working on the hydrogen bomb, one of the charges against him.

He cited the case of a "brilliant young physicist" named Conrad Longmire, who had applied for membership at the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton, N. J., which Dr. Oppenheimer heads.

He said Mr. Longmire wanted to go to Los Alamos, N. M., for a year first.

"I said, 'Fine, go do that, and you can have your membership here at any time you want it,'" Dr. Oppenheimer testified. He said that was an attempt to "make it easy" for Mr. Longmire to go to Los Alamos, where work on the hydrogen bomb was being done.

"Longmire is still there," he added.

Approved by Strauss

Dr. Oppenheimer testified under oath before the three-man hearing panel at his own request, after being reminded of the penalty for perjury.

He said that Rear Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, now chairman of the commission, was chairman of the nominating committee for the Institute of Advanced Study in 1946 or 1947 and had offered him the job as institute director.

He said that before taking the job he had "told Mr. Strauss there was derogatory information about me."

He said Admiral Strauss reported he had examined carefully the Federal Bureau of Investigation's file on Dr. Oppenheimer sent to the commission by J. Edgar Hoover.

"I asked him whether this

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seemed to him in any way an argument against my accepting this job, and he said, 'no,' on the contrary--anyway, no," Dr. Oppenheimer testified.

Dr. Teller said Dr. Oppenheimer's direction of the Los Alamos bomb laboratory in wartime was "most wonderful and excellent." In those days, he said, Dr. Oppenheimer encouraged him to go ahead with hydrogen bomb studies.

But after the war, he said, Dr. Oppenheimer changed his mind. He also felt that Los Alamos should be abandoned, and for a while discouraged Dr. Teller from staying at the laboratory, the physicist testified.

Constant Lag Charged

Even after the Russians had exploded their first atomic weapon in September, 1949, Dr. Oppenheimer showed no enthusiasm about proceeding with the hydrogen bomb, Dr. Teller said. The commission's General Advisory Committee, headed by Dr. Oppenheimer, voted against the hydrogen bomb, he said. For the time being, Dr. Teller said, this blocked thermonuclear work at Los Alamos.

Even after the decision of January, 1950, to go ahead with the hydrogen bomb, Dr. Oppenheimer described himself as "neutral" and gave "not the slightest" help to Dr. Teller in his efforts to recruit scientists for the project.

Highlights of Dr. Oppenheimer's testimony included:

He "made it very clear" to key personnel of the Los Alamos bomb laboratory in the summer of 1943 "how great weight the Government attached to maintaining this operation secure against Russian espionage or Russian intelligence." The Soviet Union then was this country's ally.

Henry L. Stimson, former Secretary of War, removed the "unbombed and culture capital of Japan, Kyoto," as a possible atomic bomb target before atom bombs were dropped on Japan in World War II.

Dr. Gray took Dr. Oppenheimer and his lawyers to task at one early hearing for releasing the commission's charges and Dr. Oppenheimer's reply to The New York Times.

"I think these stories are very prejudicial to the spirit of inquiry that I tried to establish as an atmosphere for this inquiry," Dr. Gray said.

Lloyd K. Garrison, Dr. Oppenheimer's chief attorney, explained that James Reston, Washington correspondent of The New York Times, and the Alsop brothers, columnists, had most of the story and had told him "the thing absolutely could not hold."

"... We said all right, go ahead then and print the documents," Mr. Garrison said. He declared the actual charges and Dr. Oppenheimer's reply had been given to Mr. Reston with instructions not to use them unless forced to do so "because others were going to do likewise."

Supported by Bell Man

Mervin J. Kelly, president of the Bell Telephone Laboratories in New York, who has worked closely on the atomic program, testified to his belief in Dr. Oppenheimer's "integrity and dedication."

"I think that his absence from the programs and from the councils (of the Government) would be a distinct loss," Mr. Kelly said. He was a member of an atomic advisory panel to the Government headed by Oppenheimer after the fall of 1949.

Dr. Teller conceded that Dr. Oppenheimer showed some enthusiasm in June, 1951, after scientists under Dr. Teller's direction had "evolved something which amounted to a new approach." Dr. Oppenheimer "warmly supported this," Dr. Teller said.

But with that one exception, his impression was that Dr. Oppenheimer, even after Mr. Truman's go-ahead, neither supported nor approved thermonuclear development work.

Dr. Teller said at one point that Dr. Oppenheimer's further service on atomic advisory groups "would not be helpful" and that the general advisory committee itself had served "as a brake rather than encouragement."

Such committees, he said, "could go fishing without affecting the work." He said Dr. Oppenheimer originally opposed the detection system by which the United States later learned when the first Russian atomic bomb went off.

He also gave "unfortunate" advice as a result of which much atomic reactor work was moved from Oak Ridge, Tenn., to Chicago, this setting "our reactor work back by many years," Dr. Teller said.

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*Lawyers, in Brief, Argue
Lack of Enthusiasm Did
Not Delay Program*

By ELIE ABEL

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 15—Attorneys for Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer made public tonight a brief to the Atomic Energy Commission in which they argued that the nuclear scientist's lack of enthusiastic support for the hydrogen bomb project did not make him a security risk.

Salient part of Oppenheimer brief, Pages 16, 17 and 18.

They also challenged the 2-to-1 finding of a special personnel security board that Dr. Oppenheimer had shown disregard for security requirements, that he had been susceptible to influence and that he had been "less than candid" in testifying before the board.

The Oppenheimer lawyers, Lloyd K. Garrison and John W. Davis, called on the Atomic Energy Commission to reverse the

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COUNSEL DEFEND DR. OPPENHEIMER

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security board's finding and give the scientist a clean bill.

"Lack of enthusiasm for a program in which a scientist does not believe, or lack of unqualified commitment to a single strategic theory, is not an admissible consideration in determining whether a man is a security risk," the lawyers contended.

They made public the seventy-three-page brief after the commission's decision earlier today to release at noon tomorrow the 3,300-page transcript of testimony taken in the Oppenheimer hearings before the security panel, headed by Gordon Gray, president of the University of North Carolina and former Secretary of the Army.

The Gray board found Dr. Oppenheimer loyal and discreet, but recommended against the reinstatement of his security clearance. Thomas A. Morgan, former president of the Sperry Corporation, joined Dr. Gray in the majority. The dissenter was Dr. Ward V. Evans, Professor of Chemistry of Loyola University in Chicago.

Today's developments in the Oppenheimer case found the Atomic Energy Commission, normally the most tight-lipped agency of the Federal Government, in an unfamiliar role.

By a vote of 4 to 1, with Dr. Henry Dewolb Smyth dissenting, the commission decided to make public the testimony. Copies were distributed to the press for release tomorrow noon.

Copies also were delivered to the members of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy by special messenger.

Public Interest Cited

With the transcript came a notation that the commission believed the public interest would best be served if the record of the hearings, with certain passages deleted for security reasons, were published. The commission noted that Dr. Oppenheimer had made available to the press certain documents bearing on the case.

Notified at noon of this decision, the Oppenheimer lawyers released to the press this evening copies of the brief they had filed with the commission June 7.

This was done, the lawyers said, "in order that the testimony may be more readily

judged as a whole, and that allegations summarily disposed of, or not thought worthy of discussion in the board's report may be seen for what they were."

They made the point that the transcript was far too voluminous to be published in full by the newspapers and would appear "only in fragments, necessarily taken out of context."

The lawyers said that Dr. Oppenheimer had been reluctant to make public the transcript on the ground that this would be inappropriate while his case was still under consideration by the commission.

Oral Argument Barred

The commission has not yet considered the Oppenheimer brief, but is expected to take it up later this week. It has rejected Dr. Oppenheimer's request that his lawyers be allowed to argue the case orally before the five commissioners, sitting in effect as a court of last resort.

Mr. Garrison pleaded for reconsideration of this decision in a letter June 9 to the general manager of the commission, Maj. Gen. Kenneth D. Nichols, also made public today.

His request for oral argument, Mr. Garrison wrote, had been made "not because of Dr. Oppenheimer's prominence but because such argument is one of the most important means of arriving at a clear understanding of voluminous and complex records."

The written brief, which quotes liberally from the testimony of leading scientists and former Government officials who knew and worked with Dr. Oppenheimer in the atomic energy program, makes these main points:

"The Gray board found Dr. Oppenheimer loyal as well as discreet and also acknowledged his great public service.

"In opposing the hydrogen bomb project during the autumn of 1949, while he was chairman of the General Advisory Committee to the Atomic Energy Commission, the scientist was expressing an 'honest view based on his judgment of the interests of the country and the good of humanity' without 'the slightest motivation of disloyalty.'"

"The impression that he was less than candid with the security board was shared by Dr. Gray and Mr. Morgan but not by Dr. Evans, who found the witness 'extremely honest.' Analysis of the specific instances in which he was charged with lack of candor did not bear out the impression of the majority.

"The board's finding that he was susceptible to influence was based on a misconception of the

meaning of President Eisenhower's executive order establishing such susceptibility as a security-risk criterion, and of the specific instances cited by the board.

"Most of Dr. Oppenheimer's left-wing associations dated from before World War II and were known to the commission when it cleared him in 1947. His questioned postwar associations were 'so few and so patently harmless' that they in no way reflected on his trustworthiness as a security risk.

"Dr. Oppenheimer was depicted as a pioneer who foresaw an arsenal of small and large atomic weapons and advised General Eisenhower on their use in December, 1951, in Europe.

Called Offensive-Minded

In the document filed with the board, the physicist was shown to have urged military leaders to recognize that atomic weapons could be used not only for long-range strategic bombing but also for precise, close-support of ground troops in any kind of weather.

By his own testimony and that of colleagues, Dr. Oppenheimer was characterized as offensive-minded where the Russian threat was concerned. But while pushing for the aggressive use of atomic weapons he also contributed to planning for the continental defense of the United States.

The brief had this to say about the trip to General Eisenhower, then Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in Europe:

"Beginning in April of 1951, there was a study at the California Institute of Technology under the name of Project Vista, whose function was generally speaking to study ground combat and the support of ground combat. 'What that finally came down to was the study of the defense of Europe and what it came down to was the study of what you do to defend Europe at any time, as soon as possible, if necessary' [quotation from Oppenheimer testimony before the board]. Dr. Oppenheimer was not actively involved in the project until, after repeated requests by the people in the project, he went out there in the autumn of 1951 and worked on it.

"Subsequently in early December, 1951, Dr. [Walter G.] Whitman, Dr. [C. C.] Lauritsen and Dr. [Lee A.] Buebridge and Dr. Oppenheimer took a draft of the Project Vista Report to General Eisenhower's headquarters in Europe and consulted Generals Eisenhower, [Alfred] Gruentier and [Lauris] Norstadt about it.

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The final report was filed shortly after Christmas of 1951.

"A principal purpose of the report was to point out the relatively new ways in which atomic weapons could play a part in the Battle of Europe. In that report the authors were advocating the development and use of weapons that would be suitable for precise delivery at close range from our troops and in kinds of weather" [Quotation from testimony of Dr. Lauritsen]. The essential purpose of Chapter V on atomic weapons, the feature of the report about which there has been so much talk at these hearings, was to try to develop atomic weapons for supporting ground operations."

While withholding judgment on the case pending against the physicist, President Eisenhower said of him on April 29 that he certainly admired and respected his very great professional and technical attainments.

The brief disclosed a fear in this country that the continental United States might be bombed after the Red Chinese had intervened in the Korean war. From November, 1950, to January, 1951, the brief explained, Dr. Oppenheimer was chairman of a panel of military objectives in the field of atomic energy of the Research and Development Board. "The committee met at the time of the Chinese intervention in Korea," the brief said, "at a time of daily alerts about the possibility of attack on the continental United States, a time of very great anxiety."

"We addressed ourselves to the question with what we have and can have soon, how rapidly we can get a really effective use of the atomic capability that we have developed. What can we do fast about this." [Quotation from Dr. Oppenheimer's testimony]. Dr. [Mervin J.] Kelly put it that "we are going to look at what the military applications of the research and development program should be in the light of advancing knowledge in the atomic area, and the stockpile of the military situation."

The United States now has a variety of atomic weapons, ranging upward from the 280 mm. atomic cannon.

Issue Not Advice

Mr. Garrison and Mr. Davis argued that Dr. Oppenheimer had no desire to press unwanted advice on the commission and that the commission was under no obligation to ask his advice or to continue his contract as a consultant.

That was not the question at

issue, the lawyers said. The question was whether Dr. Oppenheimer should be branded as unemployable by the Government or its contractors.

"But the question whether or not to reinstate Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance has an importance far beyond its effect on Dr. Oppenheimer personally," the brief said.

"Even in bare security terms, there is a serious question whether security standards should be so applied as to make unavailable to the Government or its contractors the services of a talented individual who is loyal, discreet and has rendered great public service."

Such a finding might expose the country to a "security risk in revenue," the lawyers contended, borrowing that phrase from the testimony of John J. McCloy, now president of the Chase Bank and former United States High Commissioner in Germany.

"We are only secure if we have the best brains and the best reach of mind in the field," Mr. McCloy testified. He warned against creating the impression that scientists in the United States were under suspicion and allowed to work for the Government only under great restrictions.

The brief quoted Mr. McCloy as having testified that if such an impression were allowed to prevail, the United States might "lose the next step in this (atomic energy) field, which I think would be very dangerous for us."

In their separate letter to General Nichols, the Oppenheimer lawyers reopened the question of their access to certain classified documents in pleading his case before the Gray board.

They contended that a request for commission minutes and other papers relating to Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance in 1947 had been denied him and that these papers came out later in the hearings in piecemeal fashion. The minutes were not supplied, they said, until the thirteenth day of the hearing and then only after Dr. Gray had passed on to the commission an urgent request for this information.

In addition, the lawyers complained that a number of documents from Dr. Oppenheimer's files had been sprung upon him in the hearings without his being allowed to refresh his memory by looking them over.

"As a result of these tactics, which were used in the case of certain other witnesses, it is understandable that at some points in the testimony limitations of memory have been mistaken for ingenueness," they said.

100-9066-B-192

Says Oppy Cost H-Bomb 4 Yrs.

By MAUREEN GOTHLIN

WASHINGTON, June 15 (UP).—The "father of the H-bomb" testified he believes the United States could have developed the hydrogen bomb at least four years earlier if Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer—the father of the A-bomb—and others had given the project their "moral" support, it was disclosed Tuesday night.

The statement came from Dr. Edward Teller, Hungarian-born nuclear physicist credited with sparking postwar development of the H-bomb, during the ultra-secret investigation of Oppenheimer's loyalty and security.

FORMER DIRECTOR William L. Borden, of the Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee, swore Oppenheimer "more probably than not" was an espionage agent for Russia.

Borden cited among his reasons that Oppenheimer gave "substantial" sums to the Communist Party, had "no close friends except Communists," had "at least one Communist mistress," had been "instrumental in securing recruits for the Communist Party," and "was in frequent contact with Soviet espionage agents."

BUT FORMER AEC chairman Gordon Dean disputed Teller's testimony and gave Oppenheimer his full backing. Dean said that as far as he knew Oppenheimer did not hinder development of the H-bomb.

The Atomic Energy Commission Personnel Security Board ruled by 2 to 1 recently that Oppenheimer, though loyal and discreet, is a security risk.

Teller said he considers Oppenheimer a loyal American who would not willingly breach security regulations. But judging by Oppenheimer's attitude toward

the H-bomb and other atomic issues after the war, Teller said, he believes "one would be wiser not to grant (him security) clearance."

TELLER'S TESTIMONY and that of numerous other scientists became public shortly after Oppenheimer's attorneys disclosed they told the AEC last week that his lack of enthusiasm for

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Holds H-Bomb Was Due in '47

Continued from Page 2

the H-bomb program was not a valid reason for labeling the famed atomic scientist a security risk. That appeal was made public Tuesday night.

Oppenheimer has appealed the decision of the Security Board, headed by former Army Secretary Gordon Gray, directly to the Atomic Energy Commission. The board's ruling has generally been condemned by organizations of scientists.

Many other scientific witnesses strongly supported Oppenheimer. One was Dr. Norris E. Bradbury, Oppenheimer's successor and present director of the Los Alamos laboratory.

BRADBURY SAID he always found both Oppenheimer and the General Advisory Committee "extremely helpful and cooperative" in H-bomb matters.

Dean testified that Oppenheimer "expressed enthusiasm" for and went to "great pains to help" the H-bomb program after developments in the summer of 1951 gave the thermonuclear program great promise.

THE COMMISSION said it would not hand down its decision on Oppenheimer's appeal until later this month.

The original AEC charges against Oppenheimer said he opposed H-bomb development both before and after former President Truman ordered it in January, 1950. Oppenheimer said he abandoned his opposition after the President's order.

Teller went on to say that if the best wartime atomic brains had gone wholeheartedly into H-bomb work after the war, "we would have had the bomb in 1947"—five years before it actually was proved feasible.

Oppenheimer denied flatly the allegation that he had talked scientists out of working on the H-bomb, one of the charges against him.

HIGHLIGHTS of Oppenheimer's testimony included:

1. He "made it very clear" to key personnel of the Los Alamos bomb laboratory in the summer of 1943 "how great weight the government attaches to maintaining this operation secure against Russian espionage or Russian intelligence." The Soviet Union then was this country's ally.

2. Former Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson removed the "unbombed and culture capital" of Japan, Kyoto, as a possible A-bomb target before A-bombs were dropped on Japan in World War II.

Chairman Gray took Oppenheimer and his lawyers to task at one early hearing for releasing the AEC's charges and Oppenheimer's reply.

"I think these stories are very prejudicial to the spirit of inquiry that I tried to establish as an atmosphere for this inquiry," Gray said.

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Defense Briefs Also Public

A. E. C. Reveals Transcript Of Oppenheimer Hearing

By Walter Kerr

WASHINGTON, June 15.—

The security case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, suspended atomic scientist, broke from behind a veil of secrecy tonight with these developments:

1. The Atomic Energy Commission, studying the case for the first time, decided to make public at noon tomorrow a transcript of the proceedings before a security board headed by Gordon Gray, president of the University of North Carolina.

2. Fearing that this might be published in fragmentary form which would be misleading to the public, Dr. Oppenheimer's lawyers made public this evening the briefs filed on his behalf before the Gray board and the Atomic Energy Commission.

3. Fulton Lewis jr., Mutual Broadcasting System commentator, broke the embargo on the A. E. C. release.

4. The commission thereupon made available for immediate publication 992 pages of small print, which represent more than 95 per cent of the Gray board transcript.

These developments were the result of this morning's action by the A. E. C. in clearing the transcript for release. The decision is understood to have been taken on the recommendation of Rear Adm. Lewis H. Strauss, A. E. C. chairman. It

produced a quick protest from Dr. Oppenheimer.

Four members of the commission, including Adm. Strauss, favored the step "in the public interest." Dr. Henry D. Smyth, the only scientific member and the oldest in point of service, dissented.

The transcript showed witnesses variously picturing Dr. Oppenheimer as a probable Russian agent and as a loyal American.

Among others, Gordon Dean, former chairman of the A. E. C., praised Dr. Oppenheimer as "a man of complete integrity . . . a very devoted man to his country, and certainly to the commission."

William L. Borden, former
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A. E. C.

(Continued from page one)

Executive secretary of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, said Dr. Oppenheimer "more probably than not is an agent of the Soviet Union," and charged "he was in frequent contact with Soviet espionage agents."

Dr. Edward Teller, physicist credited with breaking the bottlenecks in the United States hydrogen-bomb development, told how he gained the support of Dr. Oppenheimer in June, 1951. He said Dr. Oppenheimer told him he would not have opposed development of the hydrogen bomb at the start if he had known of Dr. Teller's new approach to the problems involved.

However, Dr. Teller told the board it might have been possible to develop the bomb four years earlier if Dr. Oppenheimer and some of his colleagues had approached the problems with the fervor they showed in the wartime atom-bomb program.

The A. E. C.'s decision to release the transcript, regarded as unusual since no verdict has been reached in the case, produced the reaction from one member of the Congressional committee that the action was "unwise."

When the A. E. C. took up the case this morning, it had two basic documents before it, in addition to the transcript of the Gray board proceedings and a large file of classified and unclassified material.

One was the majority and minority report of the panel headed by Gordon Gray, president of the University of North Carolina. This report found Dr. Oppenheimer a "loyal" and "discreet" citizen of the United States. The two-man majority found him a security risk and recommended against reinstatement of his security clearance.

The other was a report by Maj. Gen. Kenneth D. Nichols, general manager of the A. E. C., who had reviewed the Gray report. Gen. Nichols felt that the Gray panel had been in effect too lenient. He, too, recommended against reinstatement of Dr. Oppenheimer's security clearance, which was suspended in December by order of President Eisenhower.

Before going into the substance of the case, however, the commission felt that the public should know the nature of the testimony that had been given before the Gray panel.

Whether its decision gives any clue to the ultimate verdict is a subject for speculation. However, Adm. Strauss, who is believed to agree with the Gray board's majority recommendation, favored publication, and a majority of the commission supported him.

The transcript that will be

printed in 992 pages of printed type, approximately more than 3,000 pages of typewriter copy. It amounts to more than 95 per cent of the full text, a small percentage having been deleted by the classification officer.

Through the proceedings runs the testimony of such famed scientists and atomic experts as Hans Bethe, Norris Bradbury, Vannevar Bush, Dr. James B. Conant, now American High Commissioner in Germany; Karl T. Compton, Gordon Dean, Gen. Leslie R. Groves, David E. Lillenthal, John J. McCloy, Dr. Isadore I. Rabi, Dr. Edward Teller and Jerrold R. Zacharias.

Dr. Oppenheimer's lawyers, headed by Lloyd K. Garrison, of New York, were notified at noon of the commission's decision to publish the text, and this afternoon they released for publication some of the material they had filed in Dr. Oppenheimer's defense.

In the apparent battle for the support of public opinion, counsel stated:

"The issues in the case were clearly presented in the majority and minority opinions of the personnel security board which Dr. Oppenheimer made public and which could be, and were, printed in the press in their entirety. The nineteen volumes of testimony... obviously cannot be carried in the press in full, but can be printed only in fragments, necessarily taken out of context.

"Dr. Oppenheimer has believed that it would not be appropriate for him to make the transcript public while the matter was still under consideration by the commission. It has been his hope that after the commission had finally decided the case the record could be published in a manner which would assure comprehensive presentation of the basic issues involved and of the procedures which were followed.

"Since the commission has decided to publish the transcript at this time, we are releasing to the press copies of the briefs which we filed with the personnel security board and with the commission in order that the testimony may be more readily judged as a whole, and that allegations summarily disposed of or not thought worthy of discussion in the board's report may be seen for what they were."

"Stroke of Genius"

Of the two briefs that were released, the first presented to the Gray board contains some material on the problem of the hydrogen bomb.

Dr. Oppenheimer was accused of opposition to development of the hydrogen bomb prior to former President Truman's directive of Jan. 31, 1950 calling for an all-out effort.

The testimony of other sci-

entists, who held the same view at that time, is cited.

He was accused of opposition after the Presidential directive.

The brief refers to testimony by Dr. Bethe, who told the Gray board that it was only through a later discovery by Dr. Teller that production of the hydrogen bomb became possible.

"Finally," the brief quotes Dr. Bethe, "there was a very brilliant discovery made by Dr. Teller (deletion by security officer)... it was one of the discoveries for which you cannot plan, one of the discoveries like the discovery of the relativity theory, although I don't want to compare the two in importance. But something which is a stroke of genius, which does not occur in the normal development of ideas. It was such an inspiration which Dr. Teller had (deletion by classification officer) which put the program on a sound basis. Only after there was such a sound basis could one really talk of a technical program."

Discusses 1949 Project

And Dr. Rabi, speaking of the project under discussion in late 1949, before the President's directive:

"One had to get rid of the ideas that were and are probably no good. In other words, there has been all this newspaper stuff about delay. The subject which we discussed in the 1949 meeting, that particular thing has never been made, and probably never will be made, and we still don't know to this day whether something like that will function."

The second brief was the final appeal on Dr. Oppenheimer's behalf made to the A. E. C. itself.

It declared the commission must decide not whether the commission wants to employ Dr. Oppenheimer, but whether "he is unemployable on any project requiring access to classified information because it is not safe to let him have such access."

Oppenheimer Appeal

It urged the commission to rest on these considerations:

"Dr. Oppenheimer is unquestionably loyal, and the board has so found.

"He is discreet, and the board has so found.

"He has rendered great public service, and the board has so found.

"His position in the hydrogen-bomb controversy was the honest view, based on his judgment of the interests of the country and the good of humanity: there was not the slightest motivation of disloyalty, and the board has so found.

"The supposed lack of candor was an impression of two members of the board; the third member—a scientist who, presumably, understood the techni-

cal matters somewhat better than his colleagues—concluded that Dr. Oppenheimer was "extremely honest" (Dr. Ward V. Evans, chemistry professor at Loyola University). The analysis of the specific instances of supposed lack of candor demonstrates that in each case Dr. Oppenheimer was candid."

Other "considerations" were listed: then the defense pointed out that two former chairmen of the commission, three former members of the commission, ten members of the general advisory committee including the present chairman and others "have all testified to their firm belief in Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty and discretion, in the fact that he is not a security risk, and in the great value both of the services that he has rendered and of the service that he could render if his services were available to those who wished to use them."

John W. Davis, former Democratic candidate for President, associated himself with both briefs.

Part of Transcript

WASHINGTON, June 15 (AP)—In the Gray board transcript it was revealed that William L. Borden, former executive secretary of the Senate-House atomic committee, read a letter he said he wrote to F. B. I. chief J. Edgar Hoover Nov. 7, 1953. The letter related a series of charges against Dr. Oppenheimer, most of which had been brought out—and denied by Dr. Oppenheimer—but which Mr. Borden said justified the belief that Dr. Oppenheimer willingly spied for the Soviets.

Mr. Borden said of Dr. Oppenheimer:

"He had no close friends except Communists.

"He had at least one Communist mistress.

"He belonged only to Communist organizations, apart from professional affiliations.

Mr. Borden also said Dr. Oppenheimer hired a number of Communists for the atom-bomb project, and supported the hydrogen-bomb until an atom-bomb was dropped on Hiroshima "on which day he personally urged each senior individual working in this field to desist.

Defense Overruled

The Borden letter was admitted to the record over the objections of counsel for Dr. Oppenheimer, who protested against bringing in a witness "to make this kind of an accusation not dreamed of in this proceeding up to this point."

Gordon Dean, former A. E. C. chairman, told the board he had read all the F. B. I. reports on Dr. Oppenheimer and other data and was completely convinced of his loyalty.

Speaking of the hearings, Mr.

Dean added: "I think his usefulness has been impaired by all this. I am certain that he is devoted to his country and if given an opportunity to serve, will serve and effectively as always."

Oppenheimer Admits Lies

In other testimony, Dr. Oppenheimer conceded "I invented a cock-and-bull story" when questioned by intelligence officers. Dr. Oppenheimer also agreed he had lied, "Because I was an idiot."

Dr. Oppenheimer testified that an associate, Haakon Chevalier, had told him that a George Eltenton "had means of getting technical information to Soviet scientists."

Dr. Oppenheimer said he remarked "but that is treason" or "this is a terrible thing to do." He said that when he was questioned by security officers about the incident, he hid Mr. Chevalier's identity and invented a story about a "Mr. X" approaching three people at the secret atomic project.

Dr. Oppenheimer said he was reluctant to mention Mr. Chevalier, whom he described as a close friend. He said he knew Mr. Eltenton only slightly.

Dr. Teller's Testimony

WASHINGTON, June 15 AP.—Dr. Edward Teller, Hungarian-born nuclear physicist credited with leading in the development of the hydrogen bomb, said he considered Dr. Oppenheimer a loyal American who would not willingly breach security regulations. But judging by Dr. Oppenheimer's attitude toward the hydrogen bomb and other atomic issues after the war, Dr. Teller said, he believes "one would be wiser not to grant (him security) clearance."

Even after the Russians exploded their first atomic weapon in September, 1949, Dr. Oppenheimer showed no enthusiasm about proceeding with the hydrogen bomb, Dr. Teller said. The A. E. C.'s general advisory committee, headed by Dr. Oppenheimer, voted against the bomb, he said, and this blocked thermonuclear work at Los Alamos.

Even after the decision of January, 1950, to go ahead with the hydrogen bomb, Dr. Oppenheimer described himself as "neutral" and gave "not the slightest" help to Teller in his efforts to recruit scientists for the project, Dr. Teller said.

However, Gordon Dean, former A. E. C. chairman, declared that he knew of "no instance" when Dr. Oppenheimer discouraged other scientists from contributing to the program after President Truman ordered the bomb into production in January, 1950. He conceded, however, that some hydrogen-bomb enthusiasts—notably Dr. Teller—"intimated" that Dr.

Oppenheimer "would not be operative. I suggested that Dr. Teller's trouble in recruiting scientists stemmed more from his own limitations than any opposition from Dr. Oppenheimer."

Oppenheimer's Explanation

Dr. Oppenheimer testified that he and some of his associates opposed getting into a hydrogen bomb "arms race" in 1949 "even if we could."

"... We were infinitely more vulnerable and infinitely less likely to initiate the use of these weapons," he explained. He also said a world in which "great destruction" had been done would be "harder for America to live with than for the Communists to live with."

"This is an idea which I believe is still right, but I think what was not clear to us then and what is clearer to me now is that it probably lay wholly beyond our power to prevent the Russians somehow from getting ahead with it," he said.

"I think if we could have taken any action at that time which would have precluded their development of this weapon, it would have been a very good bet to take it."

He denied flatly the allegation that he had talked scientists out of working on the hydrogen bomb, one of the charges against him.

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How Oppenheimer Felt In 1949 About Security

Special to the New York Post

Washington, April 14—Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer has declined to make any public comment on the current security investigation into his record.

But on May 14, 1949, while opposing a proposal to require security checks of applicants for Atomic Energy Commission science fellowships, he wrote:

"It would be foolish to suppose that a young man sympathetic to and associated with Communists in his student days would by that fact alone become disloyal and a potential traitor. "It is basic to science and to democracy alike that men can learn by error."

He said that it would be "contrary to all experience to suppose that only those who have held conformist political views would make the great discoveries of the future."

... The actual procedures

which have been employed, and which perhaps must be employed, in order to establish the loyalty of an applicant are far from simple and far from satisfactory," he added.

"They involve secret, investigative programs which make difficult the evaluation and criticism of evidence; they take into consideration questions of opinion, sympathy and association in a way which is profoundly repugnant to the American tradition of freedom.

"They determine at best whether at a given time an individual does have sympathy with the Communist program and association with Communists, and

throw little light on the more relevant question whether a man will in later life be a loyal American."

This opinion was given in a letter to the late Brien McMahon, then chairman of the House-Senate Committee on Atomic Energy. Oppenheimer was called to testify before the group on June 9, 1949.

At the latter date, he was asked to comment on the AEC security program in general. Oppenheimer said he didn't think anybody "can be happy" with the "fine-tooth combing" of personnel, but that the AEC "has come up with about as good an answer as it is possible to get."

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Oppenheimer Criticized:

H-Bomb Advice Held Peril to U.S.

By LESLIE GOULD

Financial Editor

Whether treachery or not is involved, the facts in the case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer are that if his advice and that of other "liberal" scientists and David Lilienthal, the AEC chairman from 1946 to 1950, had been followed, the United States today would be a year or more behind Russia on the H-bomb.

Oppenheimer, backed up by Lilienthal, his boss, and some of the other scientists, fought the H-bomb project right up to January, 1950, when President Truman ordered its development. The charge is that his opposition didn't end there.

Oppenheimer was the wartime director of the Los Alamos, New Mexico, project, where the first A-bomb was built. He was chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission's General Advisory Committee at the time the H-bomb project was ordered.

The inquiry at this late date into his loyalty stems, not from any charges by Sen. McCarthy, but from a second letter from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover of 69 pages outlining the unevaluated contents of the FBI files on Dr. Oppenheimer. It was another such Hoover letter

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that touched off the Harry Dexter White espionage case.

The question of Dr. Oppenheimer's association with Communists is not new. In May of 1953, Fortune magazine reported on his opposition saying "The thermonuclear device . . . would still be only a theory but for the courage of ex-CIA Director Souers, Admiral Lewis Strauss and (Air Secretary) Finletter . . ."

The chronological facts as to the thermonuclear or hydrogen bomb are these:

The suggestion that such a bomb could be made was first broached by scientists in 1941.

In 1945, after the A-bomb had become a fact, Dr. Edward Teller, the Hungarian physicist, showed that its manufacture was feasible.

In 1948, at the urging of Admiral Strauss, a member of the AEC, who had served in the Navy as a Rear Admiral and was a former Kuhn, Loeb & Co. partner, the commission installed detection devices that could accurately record an atomic explosion inside Russia. Up to then the AEC had disdained use of such devices.

In the Spring of 1949, the warning devices recorded an atomic explosion inside Russia. This showed that the U. S. had lost its lead over the Communists in the development of atomic weapons.

In the Summer of 1949, Strauss urged the AEC actively develop the hydrogen bomb. Up to that time the project had been kept on the shelf. Strauss wanted the U. S. to hold its atomic lead over Moscow.

Oppenheimer vigorously opposed any H-bomb project. He was backed up by Lilienthal, then the AEC chairman, and such scientists as Dr. James B. Conant of Harvard, now U. S. High Commissioner to Germany; Dr. Lee A. DuBridge of the California Institute of Technology and Dr. I. I. Rabi of Columbia University.

The project seemed stalled, until Strauss learned late in 1949 that Dr. Klaus Fuchs, the traitor British scientist, had been at Los Alamos when Dr. Teller reported the H-bomb could be made.

Armed with that and backed up by Gordon Dean, another commissioner, Strauss appealed to President Truman. The only important scientist working on the atomic project then supporting Strauss was Enrico Fermi of the U. of Chicago's Institute for Nuclear Studies.

President Truman consulted Sidney W. Souers, the St. Louis businessman who had been the first head of the Central Intelligence Agency. He supported Strauss. Defense Secretary Louis John-

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son and Secretary of State Acheson also went along with Strauss.

On Jan. 31, 1950, President Truman ordered the AEC to go ahead with the hydrogen bomb project at Los Alamos. Dr. Teller then took over.

In the Spring of 1951, Dr. Teller's device—not yet a true thermonuclear weapon—was successfully tested at Eniwetok and in November of 1952 the first H-bomb was exploded. This March more powerful H-bombs were exploded—bombs so destructive they could destroy a city the size of New York and all its people.

Dr. Oppenheimer's opposition and that of some of his fellow scientists continued after Truman ordered the bomb be made.

Dr. Teller constantly faced delays and when he needed a second laboratory, he only obtained it when the Air Force through Secretary Thomas Finletter threatened to establish him and Fermi in a separate laboratory. The time was 1951 after the first Eniwetok test.

That same year, the scientists, this time spear-headed by Dr. DuBridge of Caltech in a report on U. S. military strategy contended that SAC—the Strategic Air Command—was no longer essential to national survival.

The report contained a chapter written by Oppenheimer. It caused an uproar and was rejected after much debate, reaching to NATO and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The final effort to stall the H-bomb project came in 1952. Oppenheimer then was chairman of the State Department's disarmament committee. His group proposed that there be no explosion of the H-bomb that November, and for the President to so announce to the world.

Although they were overruled, they didn't quite give up. They formed a group called ZORC, taking the initials of Jerrold R. Zacharias of MIT, Oppenheimer, Rabi and Charles Lauritsen, an atomic authority who had been Dr. DuBridge's deputy on the project that recommended virtually scrapping the Strategic Air Command.

In its charges concerning Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty, the AEC's security officer states in its letter to him:

"It was reported (presumably to the FBI) that in the Autumn of 1948, 1949 and subsequently, you strongly opposed the development of the hydrogen bomb:

"1.—On moral grounds;

"2.—By claiming that it was not feasible;

"3.—By claiming that there were insufficient facilities and scientific personnel to carry on the development, and

"4.—That it was not politically desirable."

Oppenheimer, who is now head of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, admits he wooed but did not marry a Communist and married the widow of a high Communist official, who died in the Spanish War.

His brother, Frank, admittedly was once a member of the Communist Party and so was his brother's wife.

Oppenheimer was a large contributor to the Communists for Spanish Republicans and also to other Communist or front organizations. He denies ever being a member of the Party.

His defense is that he had had no clearly defined political views and through his college work had been thrown with a crowd that included liberals, Communists and fellow travelers.

Scientists and others of the intellectuals are attempting to raise a \$50,000 defense fund for his inquiry before a loyalty board appointed by the Administration.

In the case of Alger Hiss, similar funds were raised on the college campuses and one of the most active such groups was at Princeton.

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Hemlock to Drink

By Max Lerner

Tulsa.

Even in an age that has witnessed enough indignities to become almost shockproof, the Atomic Energy Commission's security trial of Dr. Robert Oppenheimer is a shocking index of the moral surrender of the Administration that authorized it. Of the group that gave the go-ahead signal for the suspension there is not a man who gave more unstintingly to his country than did this scientist-scholar. When I say this I am aware that the group includes Secretaries Wilson and Brownell, Mr. Hoover, Admiral Strauss, General Cutler, and the President himself.

This is no untried man who is involved. He has been tested in the crucible of great and patriotic actions. It is as if we took a victorious general like George Marshall, and—after the charges of disloyalty by McCarthy and Jenner—stripped him of his five stars and his honor.

Despite the long list of charges against Oppenheimer, this is no man with a sense of guilt. Had he felt any guilt, he would have chosen to resign when the choice was offered him by Admiral Strauss rather than to face the ordeal of widespread scrutiny of every detail of his private life and public action. He chose to fight, as any man of honor and courage would do.

The dishonor is not his. It belongs with the craven of heart, the men in Washington who say neither yea nor nay to the moral corruption of our time, who are too frightened of their political fortunes and not frightened enough of their immortal souls. They belong in that twilight world of little men without convictions of any sort whom Dante rightly consigned to one of the worst circles of the Inferno.

The portrait emerging from Oppenheimer's letter is that of a sensitive, modest, gentle, loyal, deeply feeling man. It is hard to know what better qualities, private or public, we demand of a man, even though they are not the qualities of the prevailing national character-structure.

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His fault was to be endowed, as a young man, with a conscience and a sense of compassion that outran his political knowledge. Like other non-political men of his generation, brilliant in science but naive about human affairs, he found himself for a period sucked into the whirlpool of political feeling for which he had not been prepared by disciplined social thinking. It was the time of the Spanish War and of the shadow of Fascism over Europe. He drifted into left-wing friendships and causes. He found in them a "new sense of companionship," and the feeling of finally becoming "part of my time and my country." He was to learn from his mistakes.

If in today's stifling climate such a man were to come up anew for a minor job with the Atomic Commission, I don't doubt that he would be turned down. But this new review of Oppenheimer as a security risk comes after the fact of almost 15 years of great service to his country in the most exposed of all sensitive positions. What would in the case of an unknown and untied man have been a matter of conjecture is in this case a matter of history—a history, incidentally, which has given us that very weapon of atomic power which the idea-hunters love to brandish. To go back after the fact to the old rags and tatters of associations that could only have had a bearing on the original choice is to make a mockery of history. Every act and fact of Oppenheimer's service to his country over those 15 years is a refutation of the whole calendar of the charges.

The only new charge is the most shocking of all—the charge that by advising against the "crash" program of concentrating on the H-Bomb, Oppenheimer was disloyal to his country. The answer he gives in his letter—the unanimity of the board, its purely technical and advisory function—is in itself crushing enough. I want to add only that if this "charge" should prove decisive, it will mean that no new governmental or military policy can be adopted without branding as a security risk any official who may have raised doubts about it.

This is the road to moral bankruptcy and national disaster. Spain succeeded by its inquisition in extinguishing the inner fires by which it had grown great. From a proud empire it dwindled to a shabby fourth rate country. Is America also aiming to destroy the pool of intellect and talent from which our culture draws for its greatness?

The job of recruiting men for Los Alamos and of inspiring them to heroic efforts was Oppenheimer's. His was the imaginative fire that kept the project going. In other societies and at other times such men have been crowned with garlands. Here and now shall we give them hemlock to drink?

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The Oppenheimer Case

Nearly four years ago Dr. Robert Oppenheimer was attacked by a witness before a California legislative committee. Richard M. Nixon, then a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, which had extensively questioned Dr. Oppenheimer, promptly offered this rebuttal:

"We found Dr. Oppenheimer on all occasions a co-operative witness. From these conversations and others, I am convinced that Dr. Oppenheimer has been and is a completely loyal American and, further, one to whom the people of the United States owe a great debt of gratitude for his tireless and magnificent job in atomic research."

The date was May 10, 1950.

Now it is revealed that Dr. Oppenheimer has been summarily suspended by the Atomic Energy Commission, pending a new review of his "security" file.



DR. OPPENHEIMER

The question immediately arises as to whether any significant new evidence has been found since Nixon rendered the same judgment reached on numerous occasions in the past by many government officials. Examination of the published charges provides no indication that there is anything vitally new in the latest allegations.

Dr. Oppenheimer's expression of opposition in 1949 to construction of the Hell-Bomb is now retroactively cited as sinister proof of evil design. But the truth is that his stand was shared by many thoughtful and eminent men; and only simpletons will contend that the issue was unworthy of great debate and deep soul-searching. As for the claim that Dr. Oppenheimer subsequently sought to undermine the decision to build the bomb, his denial is sharp and direct, and it is strange that the charge should be brought forward in this context at this late date.

All of which suggests that the Eisenhower Administration has chosen to revive this case simply in a desperate effort to "head off" Joe McCarthy's threatened probe in the scientific field.

Admittedly there must be severe security standards in the realm of atomic energy. But careful scrutiny is one thing and endless harassment another. Dr. Oppenheimer's career has been examined time and again. His past political aberrations have been repeatedly weighed by responsible men; they invariably found that he had abundantly redeemed himself by brilliant and patriotic service to the country, and by demonstrated awareness of the nature of his earlier blindness.

Is any national purpose served by a new rehearsal of all the old tales? Security is vital; it must be accompanied, however, by respect for individual dignity. Certainly Communist agents must be resolutely excluded from any contact with the most fateful defense program in our history. But there is another danger—the danger that men of great scientific genius will be lost to the country by the application of Joe McCarthy's standards to the sphere of government research.

On the basis of what has been revealed so far, Dr. Oppenheimer appears to be a victim of the Administration's tendency to "resist" McCarthy by imitating him.

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Ike Seeks to Speed Oppenheimer Quiz

Mac Promises
Proof A-Bomb
Savant Was Red

By LYLE C. WILSON

Washington, April 14 (UP)—The Eisenhower Administration today sought the fastest possible action on the security charges against atom bomb builder J. Robert Oppenheimer. It's frankly miffed at the way he got the publicity jump.

Officials emphasized in their statements here that it was Dr. Oppenheimer who gave the press the confidential papers in the case against him. He broke no laws in so doing. But the famed scientist thus won a publicity advantage of enormous proportions.

In this interval between publication of the charges that Oppenheimer is a security risk and the time a security board decision is handed down, the public will have before it the scientist's detailed and emphatic repudiation. And there will be this interval in which interested persons can organize a powerful propaganda campaign in Oppenheimer's behalf.

Scientists generally are expected to rally to his cause and a large body of the lay public began moving to his side yesterday when the newest Oppenheimer chapter unfolded as one of the shockers of recent history.

Barred From Secret Data

The Atomic Energy Commission announced yesterday afternoon that President Eisenhower had stripped Oppenheimer of further access to A-bomb and H-bomb secrets because of "substantial derogatory information" supplied by the Justice Department.

It spoke after Oppenheimer

Continued on Page

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Ike Spurs Probe Of Oppenheimer

Continued from Page 1 his investigating subcommittee voted against public hearings because of national security.

himself released documents revealing the AEC had suspended him as one of its consultants pending investigation of charges that he once associated with Communists and lobbied against H-bomb development.

In his reply, the man who masterminded U. S. development of the A-bomb denied he ever was a Communist party member and insisted he did not oppose the H-bomb project after the Government ordered its development.

Political realists were quick to note that Senator Joseph R. McCarthy gets a big and favorable if possibly temporary advantage from the resumed investigation of Oppenheimer. McCarthy charged last week that development of the H-bomb was delayed 18 months and asked whether the delay was legitimate or sinister sabotage. If Oppenheimer is checked out as a bad security risk, McCarthy's questions could have considerably more meaning than otherwise. If Oppenheimer is found clean, it still will be up to the Senator to make good on the suspicions he expressed.

In Phoenix, Ariz., where he is recuperating from a virus infection, McCarthy asserted last night that he launched a secret investigation of Oppenheimer last May but that

Calls Suspension Overdue

McCarthy said he had affidavits "showing Oppenheimer had been a member of the Communist party and had recommended individuals, who were or had been Communists, for atomic project work." The Senator said Oppenheimer's suspension was "long overdue."

He said AEC chairman Lewis L. Strauss exhibited considerable courage in suspending Oppenheimer and that he would not continue his own inquiry unless the Administration's investigation bogs down.

McCarthy said he believes there isn't a "single atomic or hydrogen secret which is not available to the Communists." He was vague when questioned as to whether he thinks his 18-month delay charge led to the AEC action against Oppenheimer. But the Administration could scarcely be charged with seeking to support McCarthy.

Strong Board Makes Probe

Today, 24 hours after the break, the capital still is adjusting itself to the nature and the source of the challenge to Oppenheimer.

The hearings to determine whether Oppenheimer's suspension should be permanent are being held before a strong board whose judgment for or against Oppenheimer will have tremendous impact upon the public.

Its members are Gordon Gray, former Army Secretary and now president of the University of North Carolina, President Thomas A. Morgan of the Sperry Corporation, and chemistry professor Ward V. Evans, Loyola University, Chicago.

Such a group is not likely to be accused of witch hunting or whitewashing.

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Men of science, in this country and abroad, raised their voices today in defense of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and expressed shocked surprise that his loyalty should be questioned by an investigation.

Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, retired, wartime chief of the atom bomb project, who selected Dr. Oppenheimer to work on it, said he took "full responsibility" for that selection.

"I was bound only by the best interests of the United States," he asserted. "I think my selection was sound."

General Groves is now a vice president of the Remington Rand Company.

Herbert Maass, chairman of the board of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton,

of which Dr. Oppenheimer is a director, said he hoped the scientist would be cleared of the charges.

A statement on behalf of the Institute's trustees declared: "Throughout his service with the Institute we have never had any occasion to doubt his complete loyalty and sincerity."

Dr. Hans Bethe of Cornell University, president of the American Physical Society, who was head of the theoretical physics division of the Los Alamos, N. M., atom bomb laboratory, said:

"I was deeply shocked when I first heard that this great man would be subjected to a security investigation. Without Dr. Oppenheimer the United States might not have the atom bomb. I sincerely hope that even now the investigation can be conducted calmly. I am confident that Dr. Oppenheimer's good name can be cleared."

Dr. Edward U. Condon, former director of the National Bureau of Standards, who was himself attacked by House Committee in Un-American Activities in 1948, said he had "absolutely the highest faith" in Dr. Oppenheimer's integrity and loyalty.

In London, Dr. Joseph Rotblat, vice president of the British Atomic Scientists Association, saw "no grounds whatever" for suspecting Dr. Oppenheimer.

In Austria, Dr. Hans Thirring, pioneer in atomic research there, called the Oppenheimer suspension "a scandal" and "a shame."

At University College, Dublin, Prof. Thomas E. Nevin called it "fantastic and incredible."

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Scientists Here, Abroad Rally Behind Oppenheimer



United Press Photo

BACKS CHOICE OF OPPENHEIMER—Maj. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, right, who originally named Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer to head Los Alamos A-bomb lab, tells reporters he still thinks choice was a sound one.



United Press Photo

Dr. Frank P. Oppenheimer
Admitted He Used to Be a Red



United Press Photo

Thomas A. Morgan
On Oppenheimer Probe Panel



BACKS SCIENTIST — "I hope and think he will be cleared," New York attorney Herbert H. Moass, chairman of trustees of Advance Study Institute at Princeton, says of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, director of the institute.

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/ No Whitewash! |

THE security risk charges against atomic physicist Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer have exploded from the sub-surface rumblings of the past several years into the open, and it is good for the public and for the nation that they have.

Dr. Oppenheimer has been suspended by the Atomic Energy Commission at the specific direction of President Eisenhower. This, of course, was the proper decision for the President to make pending a review of the charges and evidence submitted by the physicist and others in his defense before a Security Board panel of the AEC.

The fair thing to do is to withhold judgment until the facts are in and that is the course we shall follow.

You can't say the same for the anti-anti-Communists who already are beginning to put on the pressure for a whitewash.

The Oppenheimer story evidently was leaked in advance to two New York papers. In one of them the lead story was a flagrant violation of impartial news reporting. It was, in fact, an editorial disguised as news, loaded both in shading and argument in Dr. Oppenheimer's defense.

The charges against Dr. Oppenheimer are grave and the implications graver. We don't want a whitewash and we don't want a smear. We want the facts, and we think the American people are entitled to them and will insist on getting them.

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Sound Reasons for Restraint In Opinions of Oppenheimer

There are sound reasons for great restraint by the American people in reaching a judgment in the case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, whose suspension as a consultant has been ordered by the Atomic Energy Commission pending review of his security status.

The drastic action taken against Dr. Oppenheimer has caused a reaction of shock, bewilderment and also unbelief. Head of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, he is one of the nation's most brilliant physicists. To a greater degree than any other individual he was responsible for development of the atomic bomb. His contacts with distinguished scientists have been worldwide and his services as a consultant to the commission have been considered as of the highest value.

In view of the standing in his field and his great contribution to atomic development, it must be presumed that the inquiry preceding the commission's action was exhaustive and that the decision was given the most profound consideration. It is true that reputations are not considered as sacred these days, but an injustice that would impute disloyalty to Dr. Oppenheimer would nevertheless be indefensible.

The scientist is charged specifically with having associated with Communists in the early 40s, with having contributed to Communist causes during the same period, with having married a Communist after having been friendly with another Communist, with having hired Communists or former Communists at Los Alamos during the war, with having given contradictory testimony to the Federal

Bureau of Investigation, with having failed to report an attempt by an alleged Communist to obtain scientific information while rejecting it as "traitorous" and with having opposed development of the hydrogen bomb.

In these charges there is a great deal that savors of guilt by association, also of indiscretion on the part of Dr. Oppenheimer. His associations during one phase of his career apparently left a great deal to be desired. Standing alone, however, the charges do not constitute a case for disloyalty or establish Dr. Oppenheimer as a security risk.

The record of his great service cannot be dismissed as being of no significance and neither can the firm confidence of his friends and associates, including Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, who headed the nation's wartime atomic bomb project and who accepts "full responsibility" for appointment of Dr. Oppenheimer to Los Alamos. General Groves has "learned nothing since then" that would make him feel he had made a mistake in the assignment.

The panel of the commission's personal security board conducting the inquiry into the case of Dr. Oppenheimer is headed by Gordon Gray, president of the University of North Carolina and former Secretary of the Army. Its members command respect for their integrity and ability. A fair and honest decision may accordingly be expected.

Furthermore, the fact that the presentation of evidence is a responsibility of the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and not of Senator McCarthy's Senate subcommittee, is a safeguard against injustice.

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For the HRC



They All Knew

By Doris Fleeson

Washington.

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's moral doubts about proceeding with the hydrogen bomb were so widely shared by his fellow-scientists that at one point, David Lillenthal, then chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, said he wasn't sure he could get enough scientists to build it.

A participant in that particular conference—one of many which preceded President Truman's decision in January, 1950, to go ahead—described the late Steve Early, then Deputy Secretary of Defense, as furiously disagreeing. Early, reflecting the Pentagon view, argued it could and must be done.

The H-Bomb was made and has exceeded even the theoretical estimates of its destructive power. Actually the atomic broodings of the scientists were never a secret. They pushed in every forum a campaign for international regulation and development.

Their cries of "mea culpa" were in post-war days heard sympathetically by the American people who have repeatedly demonstrated their own strong view of idealism. Russians, not Americans, dampened that climate. When repeated Soviet aggression was followed by news that the Soviets had exploded an atomic bomb, practical considerations overbore all misgivings.

The employment of Dr. Oppenheimer and other reluctant scientists both on the atomic and hydrogen bombs was a calculated risk taken by the Truman administration and, up to now, by President Eisenhower and his associates.

They knew the purported facts. The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy of the House and Senate has stepped up to say that it knew the facts, too, and was kept fully informed about the Oppenheimer situation.

The committee will assert its jurisdiction in behalf of Congress should any occasion for hearings arise on matters of this kind. This is a relief to Washington where its reputation for responsible behavior is great.

But in deciding to fight rather than accept dismissal, Dr. Oppenheimer has called attention to problems far greater than his personal justification.

Something has been added to the cost of calculated risks these days. Its name is McCarthy. It is accepted here as a fact that the Oppenheimer affair had got to the Senator's ears—as everything connected with security does—and that the story was leaked to avoid his springing it as a sensation designed to overpower the McCarthy-Army fight.

The cost to Oppenheimer, though he be vindicated in the end, is great. What it is to the President's power to take risks, to act boldly, to exercise his judgment freely, cannot be measured.



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The times demand of American Presidents and high government officials a wisdom almost more than mortal. The people have in the past often seemed far too tolerant. They are now being spurred to the opposite extreme, told they must not forgive nor forget mistakes. It was Dr. Oppenheimer who said: "Men of our time will never have a sense of security." He did not intend it politically but atomically; both are in a fair way of becoming true.

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Frederick NTF

Scientists Here, Abroad Rally Behind Oppenheimer

Men of science, in this country and abroad, raised their voices today in defense of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and expressed shocked surprise that his loyalty should be questioned by an investigation.

Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, retired, wartime chief of the atom bomb project, who selected Dr. Oppenheimer to work on it, said he took "full responsibility" for that selection.

"I was bound only by the best interests of the United States," he asserted. "I think my selection was sound."

General Groves is now a vice president of the Remington Rand Company.

Herbert Maass, chairman of of the board of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton.

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of which Dr. Oppenheimer is a director, said he hoped the scientist would be cleared of the charges.

A statement on behalf of the Institute's trustees declared: "Throughout his service with the institute we have never had any occasion to doubt his complete loyalty and sincerity."

Dr. Hans Bethe of Cornell University, president of the American Physical Society, who was head of the theoretical physics division of the Los Alamos, N. M., atom bomb laboratory, said:

"I was deeply shocked when I first heard that this great man would be subjected to a security investigation. Without Dr. Oppenheimer the United States might not have the atom bomb. I sincerely hope that even now the investigation can be conducted calmly. I am confident that Dr. Oppenheimer's good name can be cleared."

Dr. Edward U. Condon, former director of the National Bureau of Standards, who was himself attacked by House Committee in Un-American Activities in 1948, said he had "absolutely the highest faith" in Dr. Oppenheimer's integrity and loyalty.

In London, Dr. Joseph Rotblat, vice president of the British Atomic Scientists Association, saw "no grounds whatever" for suspecting Dr. Oppenheimer.

In Austria, Dr. Hans Thirring, pioneer in atomic research there, called the Oppenheimer suspension "a scandal" and "a shame."

At University College, Dublin, Prof. Thomas E. Nevin called it "fantastic" and incredible.

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Move for Speedy Oppenheimer Quiz

Mac Promises
Proof A-Bomb
Savant Was Red

By LYLE C. WILSON

Washington, April 14 (UP)—A special security board moved swiftly today to determine, perhaps in two weeks, whether atom bomb builder J. Robert Oppenheimer is a security risk.

No matter what the board's decision, it appeared likely the matter would not end there and that a Congressional inquiry also would be made.

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy entered the case last night, charging Oppenheimer "had been a Communist party member," McCarthy, in a statement in Phoenix, Ariz., said he had affidavits to prove his charge.

Board Members Won't Talk

The special personnel security board, headed by Gordon Gray, president of the University of North Carolina and former Army secretary, began its work Monday.

Members would not talk. The number of witnesses to be called was not known. Two, however, are Dr. Vannevar Bush, wartime head of the Office of Scientific Research and development, and Gordon Dean, former chairman of the Atomic

Continued on Page 3

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Move for Speedy Oppenheimer Quiz

Continued from Page 1
Energy Commission. Bush will be a character witness for Oppenheimer.

The capital still rocked with Oppenheimer's own disclosure that he had been charged with being a security risk. By President Eisenhower's order

doubt his loyalty. He will continue as director.

He admits Naivete

Oppenheimer was stripped of further A-bomb and H-bomb secrets because, the AEC said, "substantial derogatory information" was supplied about him by the Justice Department.

HST ASKS OPEN MIND

Columbia, Mo., April 14 (AP)—Former President Harry S. Truman says the public should not convict Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer by "implication or gossip."

The former President said he "inherited" Oppenheimer, builder of the first atomic bomb who is now facing security risk charges. He said he did not know the scientist personally, but fellow scientists considered Oppenheimer "one of their ablest (and) for that reason I kept him on."

the Atomic Energy Commission raised a "blank wall" between the scientist and all atomic secrets.

Oppenheimer, as foremost architect in the building of the A-bomb, knows most if not all of them.

Many scientists rallied to his side. The Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, of which Oppenheimer is director, said it never had occasion to

The scientist replied in detail to the numerous charges made against him. He said that while he might have been politically naive in his choice of some associates, he was not a Communist, never had been a Communist, and was a loyal American.

The Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee kept clear of the issue for the time being. It said it found no fault with AEC procedures in the case. It left the door open for further inquiry at some later date.

It also made clear that such matters were in its province—a seeming hint to McCarthy to stay out of its territory. But it was uncertain whether McCarthy would take the hint after the personnel security board finishes its hearings on Oppenheimer.

AEC Not Peeved

A spokesman for the AEC said the commission was not "peevish" at Oppenheimer for making public the charges against him and his 47-page reply.

Rules provide that the defendant in a security case is free to make public such charges as are given to him. The spokesman said Oppenheimer was "entirely within his rights" in disclosing the charges and his answer.

Calls Suspension Overdue

McCarthy said he had affidavits "showing Oppenheimer had been a member of the Communist party and had recommended individuals, who were or had been Communists, for atomic project work." The Senator said Oppenheimer's suspension was "long overdue."

He said AEC chairman Lewis L. Strauss exhibited considerable courage in suspending Oppenheimer and that he would not continue his own inquiry unless the Administration's investigation bogged down.

McCarthy said he believes there isn't a "single atomic or hydrogen secret which is not available to the Communists."

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Oppenheimer's Probers Seek Quick Decision

AEC Board Hopes
To Rule in 2 Weeks

By LYLE C. WILSON,
United Press Staff Writer.

WASHINGTON, April 14.

—A special Security Board moved swiftly today to determine, perhaps in two weeks, whether atom bomb builder J. Robert Oppenheimer is a security risk.

No matter what the board's decision, it appeared likely the matter would not end there and a Congressional inquiry also would be made.

The special Security Board, headed by Gordon Gray, president of the University of North Carolina and former Army secretary, began its work Monday.

Two of Witnesses.

Members would not talk. The number of witnesses to be called was not known. Two, however, are Dr. Vannevar Bush, wartime head of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, and Gordon Dean, former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. Dr. Bush will be a character witness for Dr. Oppenheimer.

The capital still rocked with Dr. Oppenheimer's own disclosure that he had been charged with being a security risk. By President Eisenhower's order the AEC had raised a "blank wall" between the scientist and all atomic secrets.

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Forsha HTE

Dr. Oppenheimer, as foremost architect in the building of the A-bomb, already knew most, if not all, of them.

Many scientists rallied to his side.

The Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton said he would continue as director.

'Derogatory Information.'

Dr. Oppenheimer was stripped of further A-bomb and H-bomb secrets because, the AEC said, "substantial derogatory information" was supplied about him by the Justice Department.

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Continued on Page Two

Oppenheimer Probe Aims at 2-Week Limit

Continued From Page One

Sen. McCarthy would take the hint.

In Phoenix, Ariz., where he is recuperating from a virus infection, Sen. McCarthy said last night that he had launched a secret investigation of Dr. Oppenheimer last May, but that his investigating subcommittee had voted against public hearings because of national security.

The Senator said he had affidavits "showing Oppenheimer had been a member of the Communist party and had recommended individuals, who were, or had been Communists, for atomic project work." He said Dr. Oppenheimer's suspension was "long overdue."

He said that AEC Chairman Lewis L. Strauss had exhibited considerable courage in suspending Dr. Oppenheimer and that he would not continue his own inquiry unless the administration's investigation bogged down.

Sen. McCarthy said he believed there wasn't a "single atomic or hydrogen secret" which is not available to the Communists.

nection with the atomic bomb. Don't convict anybody by implication or gossip."

100-9066-B-205

'Can Prove Oppenheimer Was Red,' Says McCarthy

By JAMES LEE

WASHINGTON, April 14 (INS).—The nation's top atomic scientist, J. Robert Oppenheimer, fought today to refute security-risk charges while Congressional sources hinted at new disclosures of possible subversion in the A-bomb and H-bomb programs.

Oppenheimer, the man who guided development of the first A-bomb, battled before a special Atomic Energy Commission security panel in an attempt to clear himself of allegations stemming from his admitted pre-war links with Communists and Red sympathizers.

The 50-year-old physicist reportedly has called upon other top-ranking scientists to support his denial that he tried to impede the hydrogen super-bomb project even after ex-President Truman had overridden strong opposition and ordered work begun.

Dr. Vannavar Bush, who headed a World War II scientific committee on atomic development, is among the scientists summoned to testify at secret hearings being conducted by the AEC panel.

Meanwhile, Sen. McCarthy declared in Phoenix, Ariz., that he has "affidavits" which "show that Oppenheimer was a member of the Communist Party."

McCarthy said the Senate Investigations subcommittee, which he heads, began checking

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2nd Edition
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DATED APR 14 1954

By JAMES LEE

Continued from First Page

on the physicist "last May or June," and that in the course of the investigation, he conferred with two White House aides, a high administrative official and a man from the Justice Department.

The Wisconsin Republican, who reportedly has been weighing the activities of allegedly pro-Communist individuals in connection with U. S. atomic-hydrogen weapons programs, added that Oppenheimer was not the only individual attached to AEC in whom his committee is interested.

McCarthy, surprised by newsmen as he was emerging from dinner at a Phoenix Hotel, declared:

"I have affidavits to show that Oppenheimer was a member of the Communist Party. His suspension was long overdue. It should have been done years ago."

The Wisconsin senator added:

"I don't think there is such a thing as a hydrogen bomb or atom bomb secret as far as the Communists are concerned. They have had complete access to everything. I can't remember when they didn't have."

McCarthy said that with the unanimous approval of his Senate subcommittee last May or June, they began checking on Oppenheimer.

He said the committee decided against holding public hearings on the Oppenheimer case at that time "in the interest of public security."

Regarding plans to continue the investigation of subversives in the AEC, McCarthy said he would have to confer with other members of his committee.

HINT CHARGES.

Sen. Mundt (R.-S.D.), who is acting as chairman of the McCarthy subcommittee pending outcome of the "Communist coddling" controversy between the Wisconsin Senator and the Army, had no comment on the issue of possible new disclosures.

But other persons on Capitol Hill indicated belief that charges of Red infiltration into the super-weapons projects soon may be aired.

McCarthy declared in a nationwide TV appearance last week that the H-bomb project was "deliberately" stalled for 18 months and suggested that "traitors" in the U. S. Government were responsible for the delay.

The Senator, now in Arizona convalescing from a virus infection, is scheduled to make a major speech April 21 in connection with Texas' San Jacinto Day celebration.

Some legislators say it is possible that McCarthy on that occasion will supplement his H-bomb delay charge with a

new blast—perhaps amplifying his statement about "traitors."

Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves (U. S. A. Ret.), who headed the wartime atom bomb project, said in Darien, Conn., that he accepted "full responsibility" for appointing Oppenheimer to head the Los Alamos, N. M., laboratory.

Groves told International News Service:

"I have learned nothing since that would make me feel that I had made a mistake in placing Dr. Oppenheimer in charge of the project."

The board of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, N. J., of which Dr. Oppenheimer now is director, issued a two-page statement in which it emphasized it never has had any occasion to doubt Oppenheimer's "complete loyalty and sincerity."

Board chairman Herbert H. Maass said the board felt the current investigation of Oppenheimer's past would prove "negative."

Oppenheimer is expected to repeat under oath before the AEC panel his denial that he attempted to interfere with the hydrogen "hell bomb" project, once Truman announced his decision to go ahead with it.

The famed physicist, in the course of his 43-page reply to the derogatory information which caused President Eisenhower to order Oppenheimer barred from access to "any secret data," said this:

"I never urged anyone not to work on the hydrogen bomb project. I never made or caused any distribution of the GAC (General Advisory Committee) reports except to the (Atomic Energy) Commission itself."

ENDED OPPOSITION.

Oppenheimer maintained that his opposition to the H-bomb program "ended once and for all when in January, 1950, the President announced his decision to proceed with the program."

The physicist, until his

suspension at Eisenhower's last December a top official to the AEC and the Department, does not deny Communist associations.

He admits that his wife was a Communist Party member and that her first husband a Red leader who died in Spanish Civil War. He adds also that his brother Frank; Frank's wife, and persons close to him were communists at one time.

But he denies that he ever was a Communist Party member; that he ever knowingly engaged in any action which would endanger the security of the United States.

Oppenheimer contends his opposition to the H-bomb program, like that of other members of the General Advisory Committee, was based on belief that the U. S., in view of Russia's known possession of atomic weapon, should not undertake a "crash" venture at expense of A-bomb development.

The AEC panel, under chairmanship of Gordon B. Allport, president of the University of North Carolina and former secretary of the Army, is expected to spend at least 10 days probing the charges against Oppenheimer.

The Congressional Atomic Energy Committee has made clear that while long as the Oppenheimer case continues, the Atomic Energy Commission has full jurisdiction.

100-9066-B-206



The Ordeal

By Murray Kempton

Princeton, N. J., April 14—Last March 4, J. Robert Oppenheimer completed and mailed to the Atomic Energy Commission his long, formal reply to the old charges of Communist sympathy which have now brought him to the crisis of his life.

Then Oppenheimer, with the shadows growing on his own reputation, tried all the next week to persuade Albert Einstein to detach himself from an apparent Communist front. Einstein had given permission to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, a pro-Communist group, to use the occasion of his 75th birthday as a booby-trap for a meeting in Princeton on March 15.

For three successive mornings, Oppenheimer went to Einstein's house and attempted gently, emphatically and unsuccessfully to convince his old teacher that he was being exploited in a pro-Communist cause. His devotion for Einstein is such that Oppenheimer appears never to have mentioned this mission to his colleagues at the Institute for Advanced Study here; even at this moment, he would hardly approve its being made public.

In that same week, when Oppenheimer's long-expected ordeal became a certainty, one of the Institute's mathematicians got an invitation from the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to attend the Einstein birthday celebration. He said yesterday that he read the invitation and wondered whether the American Civil Liberties Union had changed its name. Since none of the sponsors seemed familiar, he asked Robert Oppenheimer

about the committee. Oppenheimer said that it was a Communist front. The mathematician rejoiced again because "Robert is so sophisticated about these things" and declined the invitation.

These would appear to be the only political observations recorded by Robert Oppenheimer in the first six weeks after his die was thrown. The scientific community is a very small one, and it had assumed for more than a year that Oppenheimer's time of trouble was coming. But nothing of its imminence had shown on Oppenheimer's face. He had observed more than a year ago, in answer to a colleague's complaint about the slow process of government security clearances: "Nowadays, I wouldn't be cleared." A few days ago, as director of the Institute of Advanced Study, he had been host at its annual dance; the guests reported that the Oppenheims seemed as they always were.

He is a man blessed by fortune with every endowment and tortured by fortune with every mischance. It is a summation of his life that he has come now to be at once the subject of our most public loyalty hearing and a private witness to his friends against the Communist fronts. He was born to comfort, to charm, to immeasurable capacity, and to tragedy. When they ask him about ex-Communists who have been close to him, they ask him about Frank Oppenheimer, who is his brother and who, because he was a Communist,

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For the

The Ordeal

By Murray Kempton

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has been put out of physics and is now ranching cattle in New Mexico. Or they ask him about his wife, whose first husband was a Communist organizer in Lower California and died in Spain fighting for the Republic. They are accusing him of flesh and blood.

An old friend who knew him in Berkeley in the early thirties remembered yesterday that, for all the grace of nature, Robert Oppenheimer had always felt the insecurity of the unfamiliar. He was insecure about motor cars, so he bought in those days the most powerful automobile he could find and drove it violently, but there was always the sense that he felt unsafe with it.

He was a theoretical physicist until the war, and everyone was a little surprised afterwards to learn that the government had chosen him for the entirely practical business of organizing Los Alamos. Either the government had pulled off a piece of brilliant judgment or it had been lucky; one of his colleagues said yesterday. He was an extraordinary success; after the war, he became the symbol of the newly-canonized nuclear physicist, young and intense and quite beyond the comprehension of the ordinary. There had been some doubts of his temperamental capacity to be director of the Institute of Advanced Study, but by common consent, he had been a great director there, too.

He is as a man harsh with his equals and kind to his inferiors. He is governed, a colleague said yesterday, only by his feeling of respect; he can be brusque and terrible with those he thinks stupid. He had become by force of his legend, a kind of ambassador from the world of the scientists to ordinary Americans. There were those who believed that, in becoming an inhabitant of what is called the real world, he had forfeited something of his promise, and that he might have been more fortunate if the call from theoretical physics had never come. One of his colleagues said yesterday that being on too many committees had been a waste of Robert's time; another said that he had only to see him at a seminar staying late and talking to his juniors to know that the thing

which is really important in his life is the physical sciences.

There are, one friend said yesterday, some scientists who say that, after Oppenheimer, they will never work for the government again. "I would say," he observed after a pause, "that I would work for the government, with misgivings perhaps if you like, because it is what we have to do. I think that is how Robert still feels.

"But I wonder," he went on, "how we can ever make an evaluation of a weapon again without having to worry that some day we will be called politically unreliable."

Robert Oppenheimer had written his defense. He had put into it the agony and sorrow of his life; it might not after all, in the cold judgment of another time, be quite enough. A man accepts the challenge of alchemy; he labors and helps make gold from dross; and, when he has finished, men hate him in his triumph as they would have forgotten him in his failure.

His colleagues at the Institute met yesterday to discuss his latest, terrible circumstance. A public statement seemed at the moment less important than a personal message to him in Washington saying that they cherished him and wished him luck. There was for so many of them a terrible sense of alienation. As one of them said, "Now the government is telling Robert that he can't have any of the secrets he gave them in the first place."

The television cameramen trampled around the Institute taking pictures of empty subjects like Einstein's station wagon. Everyone was very courteous; they were admitted cheerfully to Oppenheimer's vacant office to take stills, there was only one hitch. The office contained a large blackboard covered with the symbols of one of Oppenheimer's formulae. A research assistant had to be called in to interpret it and guarantee that it was not something new and secret. Otherwise, for it to be photographed might be a breach of security. It is the agony of Robert Oppenheimer's life and ours that in a moment when he is branded a security risk, his casual chalk marks might be top secret.

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Support for Oppenheimer Mounts; Move to Keep M'Carthy Out of Case

CLIPPING FROM THE

N. Y. POST

DATED APR 1 1954

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Fresh

Special to the New York Post

Washington, April 14—Mounting support came today for Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, noted physicist, from fellow scientists as the House-Senate Atomic Energy Committee moved to keep Sen. McCarthy from jumping into the Oppenheimer security review case.

McCarthy's was the only dissenting voice in the chorus of praise for Oppenheimer's work and confidence in his loyalty.

He hinted that he would attempt to inject himself into the Oppenheimer investigation. McCarthy is expected to speak on the H-bomb in Houston next Wednesday, and there were reports that he planned to make some "sensational" charges.

Oppenheimer, it was disclosed yesterday, has been suspended from his posts as consultant to

See editorial "The Oppenheimer Case," on Page 43 and Max Lerner, on Page 42.

the Atomic Energy Commission and as a member of the Science Advisory Commission of the Office of Defense Mobilization pending a review of his security file. Review Mandatory

The AEC, under direction of President Eisenhower, ordered the suspension on the basis of "substantial derogatory information" supplied by the FBI. Under the President's security order of last year, a review must be made of the records of all such persons who have such information in their files.

Oppenheimer, who is known as "the man who built the atom bomb," has already been investigated and cleared by numerous governmental agencies, and his admitted associations with Communists, Communist sympathizers and pro-Communist causes, prior to his development of the A-Bomb, are well known.

Sumner T. Pike, former acting chairman of the AEC, rallied to Oppenheimer's defense, saying, "Personally, I never had the slightest question of Dr. Oppenheimer's devotion to the U. S."

'Never Hid Fact'
He said that Oppenheimer had never tried to hide the fact that he had relatives or friends who had been Communist sympathizers.

Former President Harry Truman asked about the Oppenheimer case, said:

"I inherited Dr. Oppenheimer. He was considered a great scientist—one of the greatest—in connection with the atomic bomb."

"Don't convict anybody by implication or gossip."

Sen. Bricker (R-Ohio) said the late Sen. Vandenberg (R-Mich.) had reviewed similar charges against Oppenheimer years ago and had ended by "believing in Oppenheimer's loyalty."

Old Story, He Says

Bricker said the joint atomic group had known for years about Oppenheimer's cash contributions to Communist causes and his

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Support for Oppenheimer Grows

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having relatives who had been Communists.

The only new allegation in the list of charges against Oppenheimer are that he opposed development of the H-bomb and that he delayed the project after it had been ordered by Truman.

Rep. Cole (R-N. Y.) and Sen. McClellan (R-La.), chairman and vice-chairman of the Joint Committee, issued a statement yesterday saying that no Congressional action was called for now on the Oppenheimer case and that if any became necessary, their committee would take it.

"This case, as it has developed over the past several years, has received the closest study and consideration by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy as the appropriate and responsible agent of the Congress in matters concerning the atomic energy program," the statement read.

The statement added:

"We do not believe it necessary for further Congressional action at this time.

"When the orderly review of Dr. Oppenheimer's record . . . is completed, the joint committee, which will be kept informed, will be in a position to take whatever action, if any, that may be appropriate in the public interest." . . .

A note of irony in Cole's chairmanship of the joint committee is that he, like Oppenheimer, was against limiting atomic bomb development and production in order to concentrate on H-Bomb development, a project which in 1949 was not even known to be feasible.

The statement was apparently aimed at McCarthy, who last week implied that Communists had delayed development of the H-bomb by 18 months. The President replied soon after that he

had heard of no delay.

McCarthy, in Tucson, said the investigation of Oppenheimer was "long overdue." He said he had affidavits that Oppenheimer had been a member of the Communist Party and that the affidavits showed that Oppenheimer "recruited and hired individuals who were Communists or at least who had been Communists to handle atomic work."

McCarthy said: "All indications are that the Communists have access to all the information. I don't think there is such a thing as a hydrogen or atomic bomb secret as far as Communists are concerned."

McCarthy said that he began to dig into the Oppenheimer case last May, but suspended his inquiry on assurances that the Eisenhower administration would handle it.

"I wouldn't want to interfere with anything that is being done," he said. "As long as the administration continues to act, there is no reason for us to move in."

There was a possibility, however, that McCarthy would attempt to jump into the case in order to create a diversionary smokescreen from the still pending controversy with the Army.

Among the persons who voiced confidence in Oppenheimer were:

Frederick H. Osborn, chief U. S. negotiation on UN atomic controls from 1947 to 1950, who said that Oppenheimer had been the first to warn him that Soviet negotiators were only seeking propaganda in their gestures toward negotiations on atomic controls. He said Oppenheimer had consistently opposed compromises that could weaken the U. S.

Dr. Joseph Rotblat, vice president of the Atomic Scientists Assn. of Great Britain and a former co-worker of Oppenheimer's,

who said, "I cannot recall anything to indicate he had any other interest but America's." He blamed the charges on "the atmosphere that McCarthy has whooped up" and on fear of the H-bomb.

Kyoto, Japan, April 14 (UP)—Nobel Prize winner Hideki Yukawa said today charges of Communist affiliation against Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer were "ridiculous." Yukawa, Japan's most famous nuclear physicist, said similar charges brought previously against Oppenheimer were "laughed away."

"The new charges are almost the same as earlier ones and ridiculous," Yukawa said.

Yukawa, a former Columbia University teacher, called Oppenheimer a "true liberalist" in his thinking. Yukawa won the Nobel Prize for physics in 1949.

100-9066-B-208

CAPITAL CAUTIOUS IN PHYSICIST CASE

Wait-and-See Policy Adopted
on Oppenheimer—Wilson
Bars a Direct Opinion

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 14—A cautious Congress waited today to see what might come of the security-risk charges against the nuclear physicist Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

There was no word from the three-man panel that is considering his case, nor from the Atomic Energy Commission, which suspended Dr. Oppenheimer's security clearance last Dec. 23 after President Eisenhower had directed that a "blank wall" be raised between the scientist and secret official data.

Government officials talked around the Oppenheimer case, but not about it. Hypothetical questions were asked, and equally hypothetical answers given.

The Secretary of Defense, Charles E. Wilson, questioned about the case today, resorted to homily and parable.

Avoids McCarthy Case

Mr. Wilson had just turned aside a question about the controversy between Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and the Army, saying he would not comment as the matter was about to be reviewed by a Senate subcommittee. Then came the question:

"Can you discuss the Dr. Oppenheimer situation at all?"

"No. I class this in the same category (as the Army-McCarthy dispute), Mr. Wilson replied. "This is apparently going to be reviewed by a board. I shouldn't comment on that either. I would like to comment without referring to people or any particular incidents.

"On this question of security risks and loyalty they are distinctly different things. If a man is accused of being disloyal or

subversive that is some kind of act against the country. The security risk business is simply trying to eliminate the people that are more-than-average security risks so that you don't get them in the wrong place, where they might do some damage. "That is a distinct difference and it should be understood."

To make clear the difference, Mr. Wilson offered this homely parallel:

"It is a little bit like selecting a teller in a bank. . . . If the man frequents gambling joints and has contacts with the underworld you ordinarily don't hire him. Or if you found out after you did hire him that at one time he had been convicted of theft or something like that—maybe he is reformed and all—but still you don't expose him again.

"You don't wait until he has stolen money from the bank and then try to do something about it. You try to get people that are qualified and are not financial risks in that sense."

Hypothetical Questions

At this stage the reporters followed Mr. Wilson into the realm of hypothesis, with the following results:

Q.—This hypothetical question concerns, say, some specialist in a field that the military services might require. He is one of three or four men in the country who is qualified to handle a certain problem. . . . This man, as a young man, may have had some Communist connections or sympathies, and at the present time he indicates he no longer has them. His services are important to the Defense Department. What would you do about bringing him into work on that project. A.—I'd look at the other two or three, if he is one out of three or four.

Q.—Let's add another point. Suppose that he is the key man in that situation and without him you could not get any success in the project. A.—This is an awfully big country and I doubt if there are any such people.

Q.—Mr. Secretary, I'll ask you a specific question on the same line. I believe it is correct to say that the Army and possibly the

Air Force brought to this country a great number of German scientists to work on guided missiles development, men with a record of recent past association with the Nazis. How did that square with what you are saying or do you think that it was a mistake? A.—There is no way that I can pass on it broadly. You'd have to look at each case on its own.

Queried on "Blank Wall"

Q.—Sir, has the Defense Department brought down a "blank wall" between any other scientist and its atomic weapons research besides Dr. Oppenheimer? A.—Well, we are carefully going over everything in connection with our present security regulations for civilians and military people as well. . . .

Q.—But nothing has been done in the case of any individual?

A.—Well, of course they are being worked on all the time.

Q.—Has there been any more attention to someone, say, of as great prominence as Dr. Oppenheimer? Do you know of anyone else. A.—No, I don't. See, actually we are not trying to hurt anyone or smear anybody. We are just trying to do a good job for the country as quietly as we can and, quite frankly, I have great sympathies for people that have made a mistake and have reformed, but we don't think we ought to reform them in the military establishment. They ought to have a chance somewhere else.

Q.—Does that mean that Dr. Oppenheimer will no longer be admitted to military bases? A.—Well—

Q.—Or military secrets? A.—His case is being reviewed by a proper board that has been appointed for the purpose, I understand.

Q.—Mr. Secretary, is Dr. Oppenheimer on any advisory boards or committees in connection with special weapons or research and development. . . . ? A.—No, he was a consultant to the Research and Development Board until that was abolished last July [when a Defense Department reorganization plan went into effect].

Q.—Why was he dropped then? A.—We dropped the whole board.

That was a real smooth way of doing that one. . . .

At this point another question was asked about a hypothetical scientist whose questionable associations in the past might be outweighed by the valuable services he could perform.

"That is one I might put up I Moses," Mr. Wilson replied.

Vandenberg Is Quoted

On Capitol Hill a favorable report on Dr. Oppenheimer by Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg was cited by Senator John W. Bricker, Republican, of Ohio. Mr. Bricker did not say whether he shared the late Michigan Republican's opinion of the scientist.

Mr. Bricker stated, however, that Senator Vandenberg had reviewed several years ago charges that Dr. Oppenheimer had associated with Communists, and ended "believing in Oppenheimer's loyalty."

Dr. Howard Meyerhoff, executive director of the Scientific Manpower Commission, had high praise for the suspended scientist.

"There is no more competent person with more in his head of the atomic program—including the H-bomb and the possible industrial uses of atomic energy—than Dr. Oppenheimer, and it seems to me that he simply must be in the councils of the Government."

"I would say that we can take his word that he is just one of those gullible scientists who have been so involved in science that he didn't give sufficient thought to political implications. I think we can take his word and rely on his integrity for his loyalty to the United States."

The commission headed by Dr. Meyerhoff was set up by eight major scientific organizations, including the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

McCarthy Speech Confirmed
FORT ATKINSON, Wis., April 14 (AP)—Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin, will speak May 22 at the annual meeting of the Fort Atkinson Chamber of Commerce as originally planned, a chamber official said today. He denied a report that the chamber had withdrawn sponsorship of the speech because of objections raised by members.

Late City
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OPPENHEIMER CASE STIRS RESENTMENT AMONG SCIENTISTS

Top Physicists Assail Strauss
and Administration's New
Security Regulations

By JAMES RESTON

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 14.—The

Oppenheimer case has opened up some strong and even bitter feelings, not only between Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and his former associates at the Atomic Energy Commission but also between many leading scientists and the Eisenhower Administration.

In the first place, Dr. Oppenheimer resented the way in which the case was put to him. Rear Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, chairman of the A. E. C., broke the news personally on Dec. 21, 1953. They knew each other well.

Admiral Strauss had been on the commission in 1947 when the first big controversy arose in the commission over Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance.

But only a month after the commission met to consider J. Edgar Hoover's report on the scientist's association with Communists, Admiral Strauss was responsible for making Dr. Oppenheimer director of the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton.

Both men went through the fight on the H-bomb together in 1949, Admiral Strauss favoring its development and Dr. Oppenheimer opposing it.

When they met on Dec. 21, the admiral told him his security clearance was about to be lifted and placed before him the possible alternative that he quit as a consultant to the A. E. C. and adviser to the Government and avoid an explicit consideration of the charges. It was this last suggestion that annoyed the scientist.

Scientist Refused to Quit

Otherwise, Dr. Oppenheimer was told, if he did not quit within a day, he would receive a letter, notifying him of his suspension and of the charges against him. He was shown a copy of the letter at that meeting.

The following day, Dec. 22, Dr. Oppenheimer wrote Admiral Strauss a letter. He said he had thought most earnestly of Admiral Strauss' suggestion that maybe he would want to quit.

Under the circumstances, however, Dr. Oppenheimer wrote, this would mean that he accepted and agreed with the view that he was not fit to serve the Government he had already served for twelve years.

Dr. Oppenheimer said he could not do this. If he were thus unworthy, he observed, he could hardly have served the nation, or been director of "our" institute, or have spoken in the name of America and its science, as he had often done in the past.

[Both former chairmen of the Atomic Energy Commission, David E. Lilienthal and Gordon Dean, are being called as defense witnesses in the security risk hearing of Dr. Op-

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Late City
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OPPENHEIMER CASE VEXING SCIENTISTS

Continued From Page 1

penheimer, it was disclosed in New York Wednesday.]

Another abrasive incident was the letter of charges. It was signed by Maj. Gen. K. D. Nichols, General Manager of the A. E. C. This was an accident of the Government regulations. General Nichols was carrying out orders, just as Admiral Strauss was carrying out the President's orders when he called on Dr. Oppenheimer to give him the bad news. But again there were old associations.

General Nichols had been right hand man to Lieut. Gen. Leslie Groves, head of the Manhattan project during the war. In this capacity he had worked closely with Dr. Oppenheimer when the latter was head of the Los Alamos atomic bomb project.

General Nichols too knew all about the Oppenheimer record of left-wing associations, and of the H-bomb fight, and thus, as in Dr. Oppenheimer's view, was in a position to judge whether the charges he forwarded were justified.

It is a question whether either Admiral Strauss or General Nichols could have done otherwise under the terms of the new Eisenhower security risk pro-

ceedings and they will not discuss the case. But the fact is that many of the top scientists are criticizing Admiral Strauss and the security regulations.

This reflects an older and in some ways a deeper cleavage between the Administration and many of the top scientists. The scientists tend to personalize Dr. Oppenheimer's plight. Most of them agreed with his opposition to developing the H-bomb in late 1949, and they are appalled to find that this opposition is one of the main pieces of "derogatory information" listed against him.

Scientists Raising Fund

This has been a source of considerable discussion within the scientific community for many weeks. The scientists have known all about the Oppenheimer case. There have been meetings about it.

There have been drives to raise funds to finance the defense of scientists against such charges, and there has been a lot of bitter talk here for months about the experience of many scientists at the Department of Defense.

The situation there has been as follows: Most of the scientists working on the new weapons were attached to the Research and Development Board at the Pentagon. This was abolished last year, and the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Research and Development started setting up a series of new scientific panels.

When the old board was aban-

doned, the contracts of the scientists were allowed to expire, and new contracts were given to the scientists, usually for a term of a year or less. This started a new system of security clearances.

Thus, many scientists who had been cleared for top secret information in the past had to wait until they went through another Federal Bureau of Investigation check. Sometimes this took more than three months. Meanwhile, other scientists were merely not invited to continue and never really found out whether they were not needed or not cleared.

Thus, there is going on here under the surface an important and, in many ways, a dangerous conflict. The politicians, concentrating on questions of subversion, are alarmed by the past left-wing associations of many others besides Dr. Oppenheimer who have been prominent in the scientific race against the U. S. S. R.

The scientists, meanwhile, find themselves in fundamental conflict with the present emphasis on conformity and security. They have been trained in the tradition of universality, of free inquiry and radical experimentation.

They are opposed to many of the restrictions on foreign scientists coming to this country and on the administration of the security regulations here. And the Oppenheimer case is bringing these feelings to the surface.

100-9066-B-210

Condon Tells of Letter Criticizing Oppenheimer

(Special to THE NEWS)

Corning, N. Y., April 14.—Dr. Edward U. Condon said tonight he wrote a letter to Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer in June, 1949, but that it was a purely personal one in which he criticized the famed nuclear physicist for giving derogatory testimony about Dr. Bernard Peters, who had been one of Oppenheimer's students in the atomic field.

Peters, 43, whom Oppenheimer reportedly identified as a Communist before a 1949 House Un-American Activities Committee hearing, was refused a passport the following year when he sought to visit India to study cosmic rays. He was then on the faculty of the University of Rochester. The reason given was that his trip was deemed "contrary to the best interests of the United States."

Got Passport Later.

Five months later, however, the State Department reversed itself and granted him a passport to India.

(Peters was named as a Red believed to be engaged in espionage activity in a November, 1945, FBI report which listed Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White as spies, and which reported that Oppenheimer was a Communist.)

Peters, a naturalized American since 1916, is a German-educated native of Poland who came to the U. S. 20 years ago. He was questioned by the same House committee in 1948 when he returned from Europe, after his credentials were lifted by Navy security officers in

France. He was en route to England to attend a scientific conference as a representative of the Naval Research Agency.

Condon, a famous atomic scientist himself, declined to give details of his letter to Oppenheimer, but said:

"Soon after that—it was early in July of 1949, I believe—Oppenheimer wrote a letter to the editor of the Rochester Times-Union in



Dr. Edward U. Condon

which he tried to make amends for what he had done.

"As far as I know, not only was

(Continued on page 6, col. 1)

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N. Y. NEWS

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Condon Tells of His Critical Letter

(Continued from page 2)

Dr. Peters not dropped from the faculty of the University of Rochester, but he was actually promoted. He is now in Bombay, working in a staff position as a research physicist for the Tata Institute for Fundamental Research."

Commenting on current developments in the Oppenheimer case, Condon said: "It is quite evident that Oppenheimer has had this attack hanging over his head for some time. Not that I think the attack should be made—but the surprise to me is that it hasn't happened sooner."

What Oppenheimer Wrote Upstate Paper

(Special to THE NEWS)

Rochester, N. Y., April 14—Following is a partial text of the letter, dated July 5, 1949, that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer wrote to the Times-Union after Dr. Edward U. Condon wrote to him:

"Recently the Times-Union published an article based on reports of my testimony before an executive session of the House Committee on Un-American Activities which it seems to me could be damaging to the good name of Dr. Bernard Peters.

"I knew Dr. Peters not only as a brilliant student but as a man of strong moral principles and of high ethical standards.

"During those years his political

views were radical. . . . This seemed to me not unnatural in a man who had suffered as he had at Nazi hands.

"I have never known Dr. Peters to commit a dishonorable act nor a disloyal one.

"Dr. Peters has recently informed me that I was right in believing that in the early Nazi days he had participated in the Communist movement in Germany, but that I was wrong in believing—as the article stated—that he had ever held a membership in the Communist Party. . . .

"From the published article one might conclude that Dr. Peters had advocated the violent overthrow of the constitutional government of the U. S. He has given an eloquent denial of this in his published statement. I believe his statement.

"As indicated in the article the questions which were put to me by the House committee with regard to Dr. Peters arose in part because of reports of discussions between me and the intelligence officers at Los Alamos.

"I wish to make public my profound regret that anything said in that context should have been so misconstrued and abused that it could damage Dr. Peters.

"Beyond this specific issue there is ground for another, more general and even graver concern. Political opinion, no matter how radical or how freely expressed, does not disqualify a scientist for a high

career in science; it does not disqualify him as a teacher of science; it does not impugn his integrity nor his honor. . . ."

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Regardless of Outcome

Oppenheimer's Services Ended, Wilson Indicates

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, April 14.—Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson indicated today that he will not utilize the services of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer for the Defense Department regardless of the outcome of hearings on security risk charges against the scientist before the Atomic Energy Commission. Secretary Wilson was one of three top Defense Department officials consulted by President Eisenhower before the President directed in December that the scientist be stripped of access to atomic and hydrogen bomb secrets.

Mr. Wilson said he had "the greatest sympathy for any one who made a mistake and reformed." But he added: "I think they ought to be reformed somewhere else than in the military services."

Whole Board Dropped

Dr. Oppenheimer, who has made no denial of charges that he associated with Communists in the late '30s and early '40s, was consultant to the Defense Department's Research and Development Board before Secretary Wilson abolished it in a Pentagon reorganization program in July.

"We dropped the whole board," Mr. Wilson said when asked why Dr. Oppenheimer had not been retained after July in his consultant capacity. "That was a smooth way of curing it as far as the Defense Department was concerned," he added without elaboration.

He said there was no intention to "hurt anybody or smear anybody," but rather to "do a good job for the country."

During the questioning on Dr. Oppenheimer, Secretary Wilson got into a lengthy philosophical discussion of why it was undesirable to have reformed Leftists in the defense establishment.

It was a lot like a bank being
Continued on page 19, column 1

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Wilson

(Continued from page one)

careful about its tellers, he said.

He said a banker would be loath to hire a gambler or a former convict even if he was certain that the gambler or convict had reformed. The banker wouldn't hire such an individual because he wouldn't want to put the man under the strain of temptation.

Dr. Oppenheimer was paid \$50 a day on per diem basis as a consultant to the Research and Development Board on problems dealing with atomic weapons.

He was appointed Jan. 11, 1948. He worked eight days and six hours in fiscal 1949, one day and three hours in 1950, nine days and four hours in 1951, twenty days in 1952, and ten days and four hours in fiscal 1953, which ended June 30 of that year.

The Research and Development Board was abolished along with the Munitions Board last year under reorganization plan No. 6 because it was felt that the board system was far less efficient than having one man responsible for the particular area of activity.

The operations of the Re-

search and Development Board were placed under an Assistant Secretary of Defense (for supply and logistics), Charles S. Thomas.

All Being Checked

Mr. Wilson was asked whether a "blank wall" had been placed between any other scientist of Dr. Oppenheimer's prominence and military secrets. He said he knew of none.

He added that a thorough check was being made of all military and civilian officials.

Meanwhile, the A. E. C. special security board moved swiftly to determine whether Dr. Oppenheimer was a security risk. The Administration, worried by the publicity of the case which has rocked the Capital, was said to be hoping to have the matter cleared up in two weeks. The board, headed by Gordon Gray, former Army Secretary and now president of the University of North Carolina, began its hearings on Monday.

In his press conference Secretary Wilson declined to answer questions as to whether the hydrogen bomb project had been unduly delayed in 1949, as charged by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, R., Wis. "I wasn't even here then," Mr. Wilson said.

Even if the A. E. C. completely exonerates Dr. Oppenheimer,

Secretary Wilson would be without his official rights in refusing to use the physicist's services in the future. Under the Eisenhower loyalty program, department heads are solely responsible for the security measures in their departments.

Dean to Testify

WASHINGTON, April 14 (AP)—Gordon Dean, former chairman of the A. E. C., will testify in the hearings on Dr. Oppenheimer—presumably in the scientist's defense.

Mr. Dean, who headed the A. E. C. from 1950 to mid-1953, told a reporter by telephone from New York he has been asked to testify at a hearing in the Oppenheimer case Monday and has agreed to do so.

Asked if he would be "for or against" the scientist, Mr. Dean replied: "Let's put it this way—I've been asked to testify by Dr. Oppenheimer's attorney. I can't tell you the nature of my testimony."

Mr. Dean was A. E. C. chairman when previous questions about Dr. Oppenheimer's admitted past connections with Communists were raised, and he took no action reflecting on Dr. Oppenheimer.

"Integrity" Praised

LOS ALAMOS, N. M., April 14 (AP)—Dr. David Hill, national chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, said today he has "full confidence in the integrity of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer." Dr. Hill is associated with the Los Alamos sci-

entific laboratory. He said he is "personally confident that Dr. Oppenheimer will be cleared of charges being made against him."

"So far as is known," he said, "no new evidence to affect the evaluation of his reliability has been introduced. His early activities have been fully reviewed by the most competent authorities to establish his security clearance. It is difficult to justify the action in the current security review, which would be impossible in a court of law."

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OPPENHEIMER GETS AID OF LILIENTHAL

He and Dean, Both Former
A. E. C. Heads, Are Slated
to Testify in Inquiry

By PETER KLUSS

Both of the former chairmen of the Atomic Energy Commission—David E. Lilienthal and Gordon Dean—are due to appear as defense witnesses in the hearing of security risk charges against Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

Mr. Lilienthal, chairman from 1946 to 1950 and now an attorney here, was traveling, but yesterday he replied to a question through his office at 44 Wall Street that he would testify on Dr. Oppenheimer's behalf. He said his appearance had been requested by the atomic scientist's attorney, Lloyd Garrison.

The position of Mr. Dean, who headed the commission until last July and is now in the banking business here, was somewhat more cryptic. Reached at Chicago last night, Mr. Dean was asked if he would be "for or against" the scientist, and he replied simply that he had been asked to testify by Dr. Oppenheimer's attorney and could not tell the nature of his testimony.

Mr. Dean was one of two commission members who approved the plan to push through development of the hydrogen bomb, which was opposed at that time by the three other members of the commission.

Cleared in 1947 Study

Mr. Lilienthal was chairman in March, 1947, when J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, first sent in a report on Dr. Oppenheimer's concerned associations during the Nineteen Thirties with communists and their sympathizers. A study cleared the scientist, who had headed the atomic bomb project at Los Alamos, N. M., and was chairman of the commission's General Advisory Committee.

Mr. Dean had been a commissioner since May, 1949, even before he succeeded Mr. Lilienthal as chairman in July, 1950. He thus took part in the discussions in the summer of 1949 on the development of the hydrogen bomb. Dr. Oppenheimer's objections to a rush program in that field have been made one of the subjects of the new charges filed by the present commission. The charges caused the scientist's suspension last December.

The hearings before a three-man panel of the commission's Personnel Security Board in Washington started last Monday, and are expected to last a fortnight.

Others known to be among defense witnesses are Dr. I. I. Rabi, Nobel Prize physicist and Dr. Oppenheimer's successor as chairman of the commission's General Advisory Committee, and Dr. Vannevar Bush, wartime head of the Office of Scientific Research and Development.

Velde Comments

From Kingstree, S. C., Bernard M. Baruch, first United States delegate to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, for whom Dr. Oppenheimer had been a consultant, said that he had not been asked to provide any material or testify on either side at the hearing.

Dr. Oppenheimer had continued as a consultant when Frederick H. Osborn took over from Mr. Baruch in 1947 the principal task of negotiating for world atomic controls. Mr. Osborn last Tuesday described Dr. Oppenheimer as a strong supporter of the American plan, originally introduced in the United Nations by Mr. Baruch and backed by a majority of member nations despite Soviet opposition.

The Oppenheimer case continued to arouse comment around the nation. In Pekin, Ill., Representative Harold H. Velde, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, said that Dr. Oppenheimer had testified at

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a closed session of the committee in 1949 that he knew there was a Communist cell at the Radiation Laboratory in Berkeley, Calif.

The Illinois Republican said that he thought it "might be well to release the whole testimony." He said he would try to get the required consent of a majority of his committee on his return to Washington next week.

Additional scientists affirmed their faith in Dr. Oppenheimer yesterday. In Chicago, Dr. Cyril S. Smith, director of the University of Chicago's Institute for the Study of Metals, said that he voted with Dr. Oppenheimer in the unanimous recommendation of the General Advisory Committee against a "crash" program to develop the hydrogen bomb.

Dr. Smith, a member of the committee from 1946 to 1952, said that he still believed this was "the proper recommendation to be based on the technical information that was then available."

A-Bomb Task Praised

"The bomb," Dr. Smith added, "has apparently proved to be less costly in fissionable material than was then anticipated. As seen with the hindsight of 1954, the recommendation may have been wrong. But that it was arrived at honestly by Oppenheimer and others I have no doubt."

Praising Dr. Oppenheimer's direction of the Los Alamos laboratory in the wartime development of the uranium fission bomb, Dr. Smith said that "I am confident that without his dynamic and selfless leadership a successful bomb would have been delayed by many months."

Dr. Samuel K. Allison, director of the university's Institute for Nuclear Studies, who worked at Los Alamos, N. M., with Dr. Oppenheimer and Dr. Smith, said that an investigation "carried out with a minimum of publicity and with mature, balanced judgment" * * * would completely establish the reliability of Dr. Oppenheimer.

"The nation," Dr. Allison said, "owes him a debt which it can never adequately repay. I do not know any other person in the United States who could have provided the brilliant leadership at Los Alamos that he did, work-

ing in selfless devotion, and endangering his precarious health."

Dr. Allison asserted that "the American people will not be fooled by Senator [Joseph R.] McCarthy if he cynically uses this investigation as an excuse to divert attention from the coming inquiry concerning his relations with the Army, firing his usual barrage of unfounded accusations, this time against prominent scientists."

Dr. David Hill, national chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, told The Associated Press that he had "full confidence in the integrity" of Dr. Oppenheimer. He said that he was confident that the scientist would be cleared of charges made against him.

In New York Dr. Karl K. Darrow, former physicist on the wartime atomic project and now at the Bell Laboratories and secretary of the American Physical Society, said:

"I have never doubted the loyalty of Dr. Oppenheimer to this country, and I do not doubt it now."

W. L. White, editor of The Emporia (Kan.) Gazette and a fellow member of the Harvard University Board of Overseers with Dr. Oppenheimer, upheld the scientist even though he portrayed himself as "not a screeching anti-McCarthyite but one who believes the Senator has done more good than harm."

Forecasting Dr. Oppenheimer's vindication, he called the scientist "a loyal American" of "the highest integrity," who had regretted past associations with pro-Communists and done his best to repair any damage they did.

"If Bob Oppenheimer," Mr. White said, "argued against the development of the hydrogen bomb, while I might not agree with him, I would know that his opposition could come only from the highest patriotic motives. After all, the decision was a terrible one. It may yet destroy civilization, ending this and all other arguments by melting Washington into a clinker. Knowing this, as Bob Oppenheimer did, who would dare to call him a traitor for urging caution and pleading for delay?"

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2 Letters Hit Oppenheimer As 'Informer'

By JERRY GREENE

of THE NEWS Bureau

Washington, D. C., April 14.—Three Congressional committees have copies of two mysterious letters accusing atomic scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer of turning informer on Communists in 1949, THE NEWS learned tonight.

The letters, available to the AEC personnel security board now reexamining Oppenheimer's loyalty, contained strong warnings of trouble for the scientist if he persisted in testifying against some of his associates in production of the A-bomb.

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The letters bore the name of Dr. Edward U. Condon, former head of the Bureau of Standards, once charged with being the "weakest link" in the nation's atomic security.

Condon has vigorously denied all loyalty charges against him in repeated sworn testimony. But in 1952 in Chicago, he did admit writing Oppenheimer an angry letter after the "father of the A-bomb" testified in the secret hearing.

Available to AEC Board.

The letters themselves, known to have been copied and in the hands of three Congressional committees, were never actually introduced in evidence.

The letters were understood to be among the material available to the AEC personnel security board now in its third day of reexamination of the Oppenheimer case.

Asked about the documents, Chairman Harold Velde (R-Ill.) of the House Un-American Activities Committee and a spokesman for the Senate investigating committee, both replied cryptically: "No comment."

May Reopen Inquiry.

However, House committee sources said that if the AEC personnel security board breaks out any new evidence of Oppenheimer's association with Communists, the group "undoubtedly" will reopen its exhaustive inquiry into atomic espionage.

Speculation arose whether the



J. Robert Oppenheimer
New developments in his case.

personnel security board, which will not disclose names of witnesses in the Oppenheimer case, will call Condon for testimony.

One of the letters bore the date of June 27, 1949, and was written after Oppenheimer had appeared before the House committee in secret session. His testimony there was never made public, but a portion leaked and was printed in the Rochester (N. Y.) Times-Union.

THE NEWS was informed that

(Continued on page 6, col. 1)

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Oppenheimer Called an 'Informer'

(Continued from page 2)

Oppenheimer was a friendly and thoroughly cooperative witness. He was questioned about possible Communist affiliations of a number of A-bomb scientists.

Particular attention was given to Dr. Bernard Peters and his wife, Dr. Hannah Peters. Oppenheimer was reported to have told the committee that he knew Peters had been a member of the Communist Party in Germany. Peters was a naturalized citizen.

The second letter was from Condon to his wife.

Without direct admission that it had copies of the letters, the House probers quizzed Dr. Condon intensely on the subject in a hearing in Chicago Sept. 5, 1952.

Condon conceded that he had talked to Peters about the secret Oppenheimer testimony and was very angry at the charges. But he said he did not recall specific details.

Took Oppenheimer to Task.

Here is the cryptic testimony, with Frank Tavenner, committee counsel, doing the interrogation and Condon supplying the answers.

Q. Did you take J. Robert Oppenheimer to task for his alleged testimony before the Committee on



Harold Velde



Steve Nelson

Un-American Activities? A. Yes, I wrote him a very critical letter.

Q. Did you charge Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer with endeavoring to involve other people in an effort to obtain immunity for himself? A. I am not sure. I don't have a copy of that letter.

Q. Well, that is a very serious charge to make against a person, and you say that you wrote him a very sharp letter. A. That is right.

Q. Can't you recall that you did make such a charge? "It is known that Tavenner had a copy of the purported letter before him as he asked the questions." A. I wouldn't want to say that I made it unequivocally. I may have said



Dr. Bernard Peters
Subject of Condon letter.

something substantially like that, and I was very angry at that time, and I am still quite angry about it.

Q. Well, what had occurred to your knowledge, if anything, which in your judgment would constitute a reason why Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer should seek immunity by telling something that was untrue about someone else, or something that was true about some other person? A. What do you mean? Such immunity could be immunity just from harassment and annoyance without any foundation such as in my own case, and there is no basis for any of the annoyance that I have been put through.

Q. I am asking you about Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, and was there anything that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer had done to your knowledge which would constitute a reason why he should seek immunity? A. No.

One to "Dear Robert."

THE NEWS was told that copies of the letters, one of which was addressed to "Dear Robert," have been in the hands of the FBI and are among the material available to the AEC security board.

Condon said he wrote the letter on his Corona portable typewriter, and that either Peters or Frank Oppenheimer, brother of the A-bomb wizard, may have been present when he wrote the letter. He testified "I think probably it was a little stronger than I would write if I had to do it over again."

Q. Did you express to any per-

son the possibility that he might involve other people? A. I may have, and if so in that letter; I am not sure; it is a possibility. . . I suppose he might do the same thing about other people.

Still another development popped up as a result of Oppenheimer's own disclosure in answer to AEC charges against him that he had met Steve Nelson, Communist leader now free pending an appeal from a Smith Act conviction.

Seek to Void Citizenship.

Last Friday, Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. ordered the U. S. Attorney at Pittsburgh to institute proceedings to cancel Nelson's citizenship.

The AEC accused Oppenheimer of telling Nelson prior to 1945 that he was working on the atom bomb. The scientist denied this and said: "Steve Nelson came a few times with his family to visit; he had befriended my wife in Paris, at the time of her husband's death in Spain in 1937. Neither of us has seen him since 1941 or 1942."

The House committee reported that Nelson's friendship with Mrs. Oppenheimer "undoubtedly had a great bearing" on Nelson's selection as "chief atomic spy in the U. S." and continued: "Nelson, through his acquaintance with the scientist's wife, believed he could gain access to secret atomic data."

Velde Says Scientist Knew of Red A-Cell

Pekin, Ill., April 14 (AP).—Representative Harold Velde (R-Ill.), chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, said today that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer testified in 1949 that he knew there was a Communist cell at the Los Alamos, N. M., atom bomb project. Velde, who said the testimony was given at a closed session of the committee, said Oppenheimer also requested that he not be questioned about the activities of his brother, Frank Friedman Oppenheimer, who later admitted membership in the Communist Party from 1937 until early 1941.

Velde said he would not give further details of Oppenheimer's testimony until he discusses the matter with other members of the committee.

"I want to look into it further to see how Steve Nelson was able to introduce Dr. Oppenheimer to his present wife," Velde added.

Nelson was a Communist organizer in California and Pennsylvania.

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Called 'Immunity Seeker':

Bare Condon Note Blasting Oppenheimer

Former AEC chiefs Lilienthal and Dean reported ready to testify in defense of Oppenheimer. Page 6.

By DAVID SENTNER

New York Journal-American Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, April 15.—A letter from Dr. Edward U. Condon to Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer today entered the Oppenheimer security risk investigation by the Atomic Energy Commission.

The Condon letter charged Oppenheimer with trying to involve other people in an attempt to secure immunity for himself.

Dr. Condon, former director of the Bureau of Standards and erstwhile intimate friend of Dr. Oppenheimer, top ranking A-bomb scientist, was himself labeled one of the weakest links in atomic security by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The committee finally held a hearing on his case in Chicago in 1952. Condon claimed he cleared himself. He is now research director at the Corning Glass Works, Corning, N. Y.

LETTERS IN FILES.

The secret testimony of Dr. Oppenheimer before this committee regarding Dr. Bernard Peters, atomic researcher and

mutual friend of both Condon and Oppenheimer, was the basis of the acid-like missive typed by Condon.

Photostatic copies of the letter are in the restricted files of

Continued on Page 4, Column 1.

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By DAVID SENTNER

Continued from First Page

three Congressional committees and available to the AEC board probing Dr. Oppenheimer.

A second letter, written by Dr. Condon to his wife, was not available.

Dr. Peters, following charges that he had been a member of the Communist party in Germany, was untied from an AEC atomic fellowship assignment at the University of Rochester, N. Y. Peters formally had been attached to the Radiation Laboratory at Berkeley, Cal.

DEEPLY 'SHOCKED.'

The complete letter from Dr. Condon to Dr. Oppenheimer, written on June 27, 1943, under an Idaho Springs, Colo., dateline, is hereby revealed by the Hearst newspapers:

"Dear Robert:

"I have been shocked beyond description at the

article which appeared in the Rochester Times-Union purporting to give an account of your testimony about Bernard Peters before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

"I have lost a good deal of sleep trying to figure out how you could have talked this way about a man whom you have known so long and of whom you know so well what a good physicist and good citizen he is.

'CAN'T BUY IMMUNITY.'

"One is tempted to feel that you are so foolish as to think you can buy immunity for yourself by turning informer.

"I hope that this is not true. You know very well that once these people decide to go into your own dossier and make it public that it will make the 'revelations' that have been made so far look pretty tame.

"It is hard to think how you can make amends. I hope that there is some sense in which the whole story looks alright in spite of the unfavorable excerpts.

'SHOULD MAKE AMENDS.'

"In that case you should make it all public. You should write at once to the president of the University of Rochester giving him full assurances that Peters is all right.

"If Peters loses his position at the University of Rochester

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as a result of your action, and if he does, it will be as a result of what you have done, then it seems to me that you are under an inescapable moral obligation to offer Peters a position on the staff of the Institute for Advanced Study that is at least the equivalent of what he has now.

"I hope you will not feel that this is unwarranted interference. This is much more than a purely personal matter between Peters and yourself. You do not need to reply to this letter; if you satisfy Peters then you will have satisfied me."

Here is the testimony of Dr. Condon in Chicago, on Sept. 5, 1952, before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

ADMITS WRITING LETTER.

Committee Counsel Tavenner: Did you take J. Robert Oppenheimer to task for his alleged testimony (regarding Dr. Bernard Peters) before the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Dr. Condon: Yes. I wrote him a very critical letter.

Tavenner: Did you charge Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer with endeavoring to involve other people in an effort to obtain immunity for himself?

Dr. Condon: I am not sure. I don't have a copy of that letter.

Tavenner: Well, that is a very serious charge to make against a person, and you say that you wrote him a very sharp letter.

Dr. Condon: That is right.

STILL VERY ANGRY.

Tavenner: Can't you recall that you did make such a charge?

Dr. Condon: I wouldn't want to say that I made it unequivocally. I may have said something substantially that, and I was very angry at that time, and I am still quite angry about it.

Tavenner: Well, what had occurred to your knowledge, if anything, which in your judgment would constitute a reason why Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer should seek immunity by telling something that was true about someone else, or something that was true about some other person?

Dr. Condon: What do you mean? Such immunity could be immune just from harassment and annoyance without any foundation such as in my own case, and there is no basis for any of the annoyance that I have been put through.

WORKED ON A-BOMB.

Tavenner: I am asking you about Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, and was there anything that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer had done to your knowledge which would constitute a reason why he should seek immunity?

Dr. Condon: No.

Condon further testified that Dr. Peters was working with him in the Berkeley Laboratory which was connected with the development of the atomic bomb.

Dr. Frank F. Oppenheimer was also in the Berkeley group during the war, he said, Frank, younger brother of J. Robert Oppenheimer admitted before the committee he had belonged to the Communist Party on the West Coast for some years.

PETERS 'VERY UNHAPPY.'

Condon testified that he and young Oppenheimer and Peters were all together at Idaho Springs in June, 1949, when he wrote the letter to J. Robert.

Condon testified that Peters showed him newspaper clippings relating to Dr. Robert Oppenheimer's appearance in executive session before the committee in

which he allegedly testified to the effect that Peters was a one time member of the Communist Party in Germany.

Peters was "very unhappy about it," Condon added.

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Condon Called Oppenheimer An 'Informer' in 1949 Note

A letter from Dr. Edward U. Condon to Dr. Robert Oppenheimer in which Condon denounced Oppenheimer for unfavorable testimony he gave about another physicist was disclosed today.

In the letter, written on June 27, 1949, Condon blasted Oppenheimer for statements he made about Dr. Bernard Peters before a secret session of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Condon, former director of the U. S. Bureau of Standards, charged that Oppenheimer was

trying to "buy immunity" for himself by attacking Peters.

Oppenheimer subsequently said in a public statement that he had inaccurately described Peters as a one-time member of the German Communist party; Peters had not been a member, the top H-scientist said, but had admittedly been active in "the German Communist movement."

The passage in the Condon letter which stirred attention today said:

"One is tempted to feel that you are so foolish as to think

that you can buy immunity for yourself by turning informer. I hope that this is not true. You know very well that once these people decide to go into your own dossier and make it public that it will make the 'revelations' that have been made so far look pretty tame."

Dr. Condon declined to comment on the letter today but friends said his reference to Oppenheimer's "dossier" merely referred to the known and admitted facts about Oppenheimer's former Communist associations.

Frank E. ...

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Frank E. ...

Condon Admits He Wrote Oppenheimer

Special to the N. Y. Journal-American

CORNING, April 15.—Dr. Edward U. Condon today admitted he wrote a letter to Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer criticizing the nuclear physicist for giving derogatory testimony about Dr. Bernard Peters.

The letter, written in June, 1949, was purely personal, Dr. Condon said. He declined to give details of the letter, but said:

"Soon after that—it was early in July 1949, I believe—Oppenheimer wrote a letter to the editor of the Rochester Times-Union in which he tried to make amends for what he had done.

"As far as I know, not only was Dr. Peters not dropped from the faculty of the University of Rochester, but was actually promoted. He is now in Bombay, working in a staff position as a research physicist for the Tata Institute for

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Oppenheimer's Letter to Paper:

Note Clarified Testimony

Special to the New York Journal-American

ROCHESTER, April 15.—Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer on July 5, 1949, explained his testimony to a House investigating committee naming Dr. Bernard Peters as a radical and former Communist.

In a letter he sent to the Rochester Times-Union, Dr. Oppenheimer said:

"Recently the Times-Union published an article based on reports of my testimony before an executive session of the House Committee on Un-American Activities which it seems to me could be damaging to the good name of Dr. Bernard Peters.

"I knew Dr. Peters not only as a brilliant student but as a man of strong moral principles and of high ethical standards.

HAD RADICAL VIEWS.

"During those years his political views were radical . . . This seemed to me not unnatural in a man who had suffered as he had at Nazi hands.

"I have never known Dr. Peters to commit a dishonorable act nor a disloyal one.

"Dr. Peters has recently informed me that I was right in believing that in the early Nazi days he had participated in the Communist movement in Germany, but that I was wrong in believing—as the article stated—that he had ever held a membership in the Communist Party . . .

"From the published article one might conclude that Dr. Peters had advocated the violent

overthrow of the constitutional government of the U. S. He has given an eloquent denial of this in his published statement. I believe his statement.

Fundamental Research."

Peters was questioned by a House committee in 1948 after his passport had been lifted in Europe by Navy security officers. He had gone to attend a scientific conference as a representative of the Naval Research Agency.

Asked to comment on Dr. Oppenheimer, Dr. Condon said:

"It is quite evident that Oppenheimer has had this attack hanging over his head for some time. Not that I think the attack should be made—but the surprise to me is that it hasn't happened sooner."

Spent & Edition

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Fresha

Condon Mum on Report Involving Oppenheimer

By the Associated Press.

CORNING, N. Y., April 15.—Dr. Edward U. Condon said today he did not want to discuss in any way a report that he had, in effect, accused Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer of trying to "buy immunity for yourself by turning informer" on a friend before the

House Un-American Activities Committee.

He declared, in fact, that he had "complete confidence in the integrity and loyalty of Dr. Oppenheimer."

Dr. Condon, in talking with a newsmen, did confirm that he had written Dr. Oppenheimer in 1949 about a newspaper report of Dr. Oppenheimer's testimony before the House committee concerning a former nuclear physicist at the University of Rochester.

A newspaper report said Dr. Condon had written Dr. Oppen-

Continued on Page Two

Frank E. ...

100-9066 B-219

helmre: "One is tempted to feel that you are so foolish as to think you can buy immunity for yourself by turning informer."

Dr. Condon, former head of the Bureau of Standards, who once was described by a Congressional committee as the "weakest link" in the nation's atomic security, said he had known Dr. Oppenheimer since 1926.

Dr. Condon, in sworn testimony, has repeatedly denied all charges made against him.

Not Approached.

Newspaper reports said copies of the letter charging Dr. Oppenheimer with an attempt to buy immunity, were in the hands of three Congressional committees and also were available to the Security Board now investigating Dr. Oppenheimer.

Asked if he had been approached with a view to testifying, Dr. Condon replied that he had not.

Asked if he thought the 1949 affair involving Dr. Bernard Peters, then doing cosmic ray research at Rochester under a Navy contract, would play a part in the investigation, he replied: "I wouldn't think so."

Newspaper Story.

Dr. Condon's letter to Dr. Oppenheimer followed appearance of a story in the Rochester Times-Union June 15, 1949, in which Dr. Oppenheimer was quoted as saying he had told the House committee Dr. Peters was "a dangerous man and quite Red."

Rochester sources said Dr. Condon's letter was only one of many protests sent to Dr. Oppenheimer concerning the reported Peters testimony.

In apparent answer to them, Dr. Oppenheimer wrote a letter to the Times-Union July 5, 1949, in which he described Dr. Peters as "a man of strong moral principals and of high ethical standards."

Passport Trouble.

In 1950, Dr. Peters applied for a passport to go to India for cosmic ray research. The application, denied at first, was issued after Dr. Alan Valentine, then president of the university, made an investigation and announced:

"Nothing has emerged which, in my opinion, should impair our confidence in Dr. Peters as a scientist, a professor or an American citizen."

At last reports, Dr. Peters was still in India.

Dr. Peters, now 43, was born in Poland and studied in Germany. He came to this country in 1934 and became a citizen in 1940, according to Rochester records. During World War II, he was a member of the staff of the University of California.

Oppenheimer Letter.

In his letter to the Rochester newspaper, Dr. Oppenheimer said:

"I first knew Dr. Peters about 12 years ago during his student days at California. I knew him not only as a brilliant student, but as a man of strong moral principles and of high ethical standards. During those years, his political views were radical. This seemed to me not unnatural in a man who had suffered as he had at Nazi hands. I have never known Dr. Peters to commit a dishonorable act, nor a disloyal one."

"Dr. Peters has recently informed me that I was right in believing that, in the early days, he had participated in the Communist movement in Germany, but that I was wrong in believing--as the article stated--that he had ever held a membership in the Communist party."

"From the published article,

one might conclude that Dr. Peters advocated the violent overthrow of the constitutional government of the United States. He has given an eloquent denial of this. . . . I believe his statement. . . . I wish to make public my profound regret that anything said should have been so misconstrued and abused that it could damage Dr. Peters."

Scientists Demand Public Airing Of Case Against Oppenheimer

Washington, April 15 (UPI)—Some of the country's outstanding scientists, angered by the charges against Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, want his case aired in public, a source close to the accused scientist said today.

They specifically want the House-Senate Atomic Energy Committee to hold open hearings on the record of the outstanding physicist who played

a key role in U. S. development of atomic weapons.

Whether Oppenheimer himself wants a public hearing could not be learned. But many of his colleagues and friends have voiced strong dissatisfaction with the secret proceedings now going on at the Atomic Energy Commission.

Board Hearing Charges

A special personnel security board, headed by former Army

Secretary Gordon Gray, is hearing charges reflecting on Oppenheimer's veracity, conduct and loyalty. Meanwhile, the physicist is barred by order of President Eisenhower from all secret atomic and defense data and from serving the Government as scientific adviser.

A friend of Oppenheimer's told the United Press that Gray and his two board associates—

Continued on Page 18

75 cent Edition

CLIPPING FROM THE

N.Y. BROOKLYN EAGLE

DATED APR 15 1954

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Ask Public Action On Oppenheimer

Continued from Page 1

Thomas A. Morgan, former Sperry Corporation president, and Prof. Ward V. Evans of Loyola University, Chicago—couldn't tell the AEC anything it hasn't known for years about Oppenheimer "if they sat for six months."

So 30 to 40 scientists and former colleagues of Oppenheimer on the wartime atomic project have been asked to testify before the board.

On the witness list are two former AEC chairmen, David E. Lilienthal and Gordon Dean; Dr. Vannevar Bush, head of the Carnegie Institution of Washington and original supervisor of the atomic project; former Defense Secretary Robert A. Lovett and Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, who headed the atomic project from 1943 to the end of the war.

Meanwhile, Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson has disclosed that he ordered a new security review of all military and civilian personnel in the Defense Department.

Mr. Wilson said he knew of no other scientist of Oppenheimer's prominence deprived of access to secrets. But he said the department is "going over everything in the present security regulations for civilians and military people as well."

Mr. Wilson said he sympathized with "anyone who made a mistake and reformed. But I think they ought to be reformed somewhere else than in military services."

He apparently was referring to the fact that Oppenheimer, who has admitted past associations with Communists, served as a consultant to the Defense Department's research and development board before it was abolished last July.

"We dropped the whole

board," Secretary Wilson said without elaboration. "That was the smooth way of curing that as far as the Defense Department was concerned."

The board was abolished as part of the Defense Department reorganization plan proposed to Congress by President Eisenhower last April 30.

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Friends Seeking Public Hearing On Oppenheimer

Scientists Point Out People Can
Never Know What Backers Testify

By the United Press.

WASHINGTON, April 15.—Some of the country's outstanding scientists, angered by the security charges against Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, want his case aired in public, a sources close to him said today.

75th Edition

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They specifically want the joint House-Senate Atomic Energy ~~Committee~~ to hold open hearings on the record of the great physicist, who played a key role in development of atomic weapons.

Own Stand Not Known.

Whether he wants a public hearing could not be learned, but many colleagues and friends have voiced strong dissatisfaction with the secret proceedings now going on at the Atomic Energy Commission.

A special Personnel Security Board, headed by former Army Secretary Gordon Gray, is hearing charges reflected on Dr. Oppenheimer's veracity, conduct and loyalty. Meanwhile, he is barred by order of President Eisenhower from all secret atomic and defense data and from serving the government as scientific adviser.

A friend of Dr. Oppenheimer told the United Press that Mr. Gray and his two board associates—former Sperry Corp. president Thomas A. Morgan and Prof. Ward V. Evans of Loyola University, Chicago—couldn't tell the AEC anything it hadn't known for years about Dr. Oppenheimer "if they sat for six months."

30 to 40 May Testify.

Some 30 to 40 scientists and former colleagues on the wartime atomic project have been asked to testify.

On the witness list are two former AEC chairmen, David E. Lilienthal and Gordon Dean; Dr. Vannevar Bush, head of the Carnegie Institution of Washington and original supervisor of the atomic project, former Defense Secretary Robert A. Lovett, and Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, who headed the atomic project from 1943 to the end of the war.

Outraged by Methods.

Dr. Oppenheimer himself was represented as outraged by the way in which news of the charges was brought to him.

According to a friend, he was summoned Dec. 21 to the office of AEC Chairman Lewis L. Strauss. The two men were close personal acquaintances and atomic associates.

Adm. Strauss told him he was about to be deprived of his security clearance. Adm. Strauss

suggested, it was said, that Dr. Oppenheimer resign as AEC consultant and adviser to the government.

The word used for Adm. Strauss' suggestion by the informant was "pressure." Dr. Oppenheimer refused. He sent Adm. Strauss a letter rejecting the suggestion that he was unfit to serve the United States.

Another Old Associate.

On Dec. 23, AEC general manager K. D. Nichols, another old associate of the wartime project, sent Dr. Oppenheimer a stiffly formal letter reciting the charges raised against him.

In his reply, dated March 4, Dr. Oppenheimer again rejected "the suggestion that I am unfit for public service." He availed himself of the opportunity for a hearing, which is now going on.

According to his friends, the new investigation was not—as the AEC had said it was—required under President Eisenhower's security program.

The Eisenhower program, stressing security as the chief standard for federal employment, replaced the Truman program, which stressed loyalty.

Under 1946 Law.

But security, under the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, has always been the AEC standard, this source said.

It was the standard in 1947 when Dr. Oppenheimer was cleared to be chairman of the commission's General Advisory Committee. It was the standard when most of the charges mentioned in the Nichols letter were first aired, the source added.

"The tragic thing," he said, "is that, however this turns out, it has destroyed the usefulness of one of the most useful scientists in the world."

Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson has disclosed he ordered a new security review of all military and civilian personnel in the Defense Department.

Mr. Wilson told newsmen he knew of no other scientist of Dr. Oppenheimer's prominence deprived of access to secrets. But he said the department was "going over everything in the present security regulations for civilians and military people as well."

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Lilienthal and Dean Will Testify As Oppenheimer Defense Witnesses

CLIPPING FROM THE

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Sorsha NTF

Special to the New York Post

Washington, April 15—Two former chairmen of the Atomic Energy Commission today were prepared to appear as defense witnesses for Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, nuclear physicist suspended on security risk charges.

They are David E. Lilienthal, who headed the AEC from 1946 to 1950, and Gordon Dean, who succeeded Lilienthal and served until the present AEC chief, Lewis L. Strauss, was appointed last July.

Lilienthal, in a statement from his New York office, said he would testify for Oppenheimer. Dean would not discuss the nature of his testimony, but the fact that he accepted the invitation of Oppenheimer's defense counsel, Lloyd Garrison of New York, presumably means his testimony would be favorable to the scientist.

Bush to Aid Defense

Other prominent persons who said earlier that they would testify for Oppenheimer include Dr.

See Editorial, "Footnote to the Nightmare Age," on Page 29.

Vannevar Bush, wartime head of the Office of Scientific Research & Development, and Dr. I. I. Rabi, Nobel Prize physicist and Oppenheimer's successor as chairman of the AEC General Advisory Committee.



DR. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

Dean and Lilienthal were on opposite sides of the 1949 debate over the advisability of beginning an all-out drive for development of the H-Bomb. Dean, a member of the AEC at that time, was one of the two members who approved the plan—the other was Strauss. Lilienthal opposed it.

Seven Opposed Plan

Oppenheimer was one of at least several scientists who opposed the plan, insisting that such a project might curtail A-Bomb production.

The chief—and only new—charge among the 16 leveled at Oppenheimer is that he opposed and attempted to delay the H-Bomb project. He has conceded opposing the plan, but has denied making any attempt to slow the program after it was ordered by President Truman.

"Unjust," Urey Says

Expressions of confidence in Oppenheimer continued to come from scientists and scientific groups.

Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize chemist, termed Oppenheimer's suspension "unjust," and added:

"Various people in Washington should grow up and show . . . intelligence."

Defense Secretary Wilson indicated yesterday that no matter what the outcome of the Oppenheimer hearings, the noted scientist's services will not be utilized again by the Defense Dept.

"Frankly, I have sympathy for anyone who made a mistake and then reformed," Wilson told a press conference. "But I think he should be reformed somewhere else than in the armed services."

Wilson implied that the Defense Dept. had eased Oppen-

Continued on Page 32.

100-9066-222

Lilienthal and Dean to Aid Oppenheimer

Continued from Page 3

heimer out of his post as consultant to the Research and Development Board last July by abolishing the board under a reorganization plan.

"That was a real smooth way of doing that one . . ." Wilson said.

The Oppenheimer case had reportedly caused bitter feeling between Oppenheimer and his former AEC associates and between scientists in general and the Eisenhower administration.

Oppenheimer Resentful

Oppenheimer is said to resent the way Strauss told him last December he would either have to quit as a scientific adviser to the AEC and the government or be suspended pending a new security check.

Oppenheimer refused to resign, saying that if he did it would be tantamount to admitting he was unfit to serve the government he had already served for 12 years.

Oppenheimer's resentment was said also to be directed toward Maj. Gen. K. D. Nichols, the AEC general manager, who wrote the letter telling the scientist of his suspension and the charges against him.

Had Worked Together

Nichols had worked closely with Oppenheimer during the war on the atom bomb and thus knew all about Oppenheimer's earlier pro-Communist associations. The scientist is said to feel that Nichols, therefore, was in a position to know whether or not the charges contained in the let-

ter—most of which have been denied or explained—were justified.

Scientists in general, who have long been in conflict with the government's emphasis on conformity and secrecy, are reported bitter about the Oppenheimer case. Many of them opposed the H-Bomb project on various grounds and are appalled to find that Oppenheimer's opposition to it is a key charge against him.

Many scientists, too, have got what they consider brusque treatment at the hands of the administration, notably in the Defense Dept.

Almost in line with this was the statement yesterday by Cyril S. Smith, a former member of the GAC, who said he supported Oppenheimer.

The suspension, Smith said, will "discourage free discussion of both politics and science; if followed through, it will effectively suppress the very originality of thought that gave rise to the bomb."

Warning by Urey

Urey said the government's action in the Oppenheimer case would "discourage people from becoming scientists, encourage people not to give their service to the government and will lead to a weakening of our scientific and engineering position."

Samuel K. Allison, who helped set off the first A-Bomb, said:

"I do not know of any other person in the U. S. who could have provided the brilliant leadership at Los Alamos that he (Oppenheimer) did, working in

selfless devotion and endangering his precarious health."

Dr. Leo Szilard, an A-Bomb pioneer, said the charges against Oppenheimer do not seem to indicate the "slightest suspicion" that he would misuse restricted information.

"To class him as a security risk, on the basis of these charges, will be regarded by his colleagues in this country as an indignity and abroad as a sign of insanity—which it probably is."

Of Sen. McCarthy's implied threat that he might enter the Oppenheimer investigation, Allison said:

"The American people will not be fooled . . . If he cynically uses this investigation as an excuse to divert attention from the coming inquiry concerning his relations with the Army."

Other support came from Dr. David Hill, chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, and Dr. Howard Meyerhoff, executive director of the Scientific Manpower Commission.

The first big controversy over Oppenheimer's early associations occurred in 1947, when the FBI gave the AEC a file of "derogatory information" it had collected.

The AEC subsequently cleared Oppenheimer, and Strauss, then an AEC member, was responsible for making Oppenheimer director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, N. J., a month after the AEC reviewed the FBI information.

100-9066-222

LESLIE Gould: *Financial Editor*



Strauss, More Than Any Other, Deserves Credit for H-Bomb

That the United States has the H bomb today as a deterrent to a surprise Russian attack, the public can more than any other individual thank a Wall Street investment banker. Lewis Strauss, long time partner in Kuhn, Loeb & Co.

Strauss put up what for a time was a one-man battle to have the U. S. develop the hydrogen bomb.

This was in 1949, when Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, who headed the A-bomb project at Los Alamos, and David Lilienthal, AEC chairman, backed up by most of the other scientists who wanted the U. S. to have no part of such a venture,

Russia by then had exploded an A-bomb, so the U. S. no longer had a monopoly on nuclear weapons. It was due again to the foresight of Lewis Strauss that the U. S. found out Russia had an A-bomb. Two years before he had forced the AEC to co-operate with the Air Force to set up an atomic detection system, Lilienthal had been against this, too.

Was 'Always Right'

Strauss was then a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, and it was in recognition of his foresight particularly as to the H-bomb that President Truman wrote when he resigned to return to private life:

"You've often been a minority of one and always been right."

Strauss, who is back with the AEC, this time as chairman, started out in business as a drummer for his father's Virginia shoe factory. He had gone to work in 1913 on his graduation from John Marshall High School in Richmond. In 1917, before the U. S. was in the war, he read about Herbert Hoover's Belgian Relief Work. He hopped a train to Washington and asked Hoover for a job, and got it. He became Hoover's personal secretary after an economic report he had written attracted the boss' eye.

Sought Cure For Cancer

Strauss, in 1919, was with Hoover at the Peace Conference and there he met Mortimer Schiff, head of the Kuhn, Loeb banking house. Schiff was impressed with him and asked what his plans were. Strauss had none. Schiff offered him a job. He took it and six years later became a partner. He met, wooed and married Alice Hanauer, daughter of KL partner, Jerome Hanauer.

Until the second world war broke, Strauss was busy financing some of the leading companies of the country. A side interest all this time was finding a cure for cancer. Both his parents had died of cancer. With former President Hoover he had been sponsoring scientific work with uranium and the splitting of the atom as a possible cure for cancer—not for war.

He held a reserve commission in the Navy and some months before Pearl Harbor was called to duty. When James

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Forrestal, another Wall Streeter, went into the Navy Department, he grabbed onto Strauss and made him the Navy's trouble shooter on ordnance and he did an outstanding job, coming out with a rear Admiral's commission and a string of decorations.

While in the Navy, he had been the department's representative on the atomic program. When the Atomic Energy Commission was set up he was appointed a commissioner. He was almost constantly

at loggerheads with Lilienthal, the chairman and former TVA boss, over what he considered their socialistic views and plans for atomic energy of Lilienthal and the others brought into AEC by Lilienthal.

He left the commission in 1950, and returned last year by appointment of President Eisenhower as chairman. On his desk is a green phone—it is a direct line to the President's study at the White House.

100-9066-223

Footnote to the Nightmare Age

A colleague of Robert Oppenheimer's told Murray Kempton the other day: "Now the Government is telling Robert that he can't have any of the secrets he gave them in the first place." The comment was a fitting footnote to our strange century. Man has made awesome things, and is scared to death of them; and one of the men who made them is Oppenheimer, and we are now supposed to be scared to death of him.

So the familiar details of his life will be rehearsed over and over again. In the raging controversy, politicians will try to forget that the Hell-Bomb is here, and that nothing that is done to Robert Oppenheimer can alter or diminish the magnitude of the crisis which modern man faces in an age when Communist despotism owns the same hideous weapons of total destruction as we do.

Wechsler
Editor

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COMMUNICATIONS
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For the NTF

Ex-AEC Chiefs Plan to Testify

Lilienthal and Dean Expected To Aid Oppenheimer's Defense

WASHINGTON, April 15 (AP).—The two former chairmen of the Atomic Energy Commission plan to testify at the security hearing for pioneer atomic scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer—both of them apparently in his behalf.

David E. Lilienthal, who headed the Commission from the time it was formed in 1946 until 1950, said in a statement issued in New York last night he will testify for Oppenheimer.

Gordon Dean, who succeeded Lilienthal and served until last Summer, said he had been asked to testify by Oppenheimer's attorney.

While he would not discuss what he will say, his acceptance of an invitation by the defense presumably means his testimony will be favorable to Oppenheimer.

DR. BUSH TO TESTIFY.

Another prospective witness is Dr. Vannevar Bush, wartime head of the office of scientific research and development. An aide said Bush expects to testify.

The hearings for Oppenheimer, suspended from access to government secrets by order of President Eisenhower, is going on in a secret room somewhere in Washington.

The procedure is guided by strict rules formalized by the AEC in September, 1950 in an effort to provide maximum protection for the rights of individuals and for the government's interests.

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The AEC has announced only that Oppenheimer was suspended, that a hearing is in progress and the membership of the three-man inquiry board.

For the rest, the proceedings are shrouded in secrecy and neither the AEC nor Oppenheimer's representatives have been willing to say what was going on or even where.

Expressions of confidence in Oppenheimer came yesterday from Dr. David Hill, chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, and from Dr. Howard Meyerhoff, executive director of the Scientific Manpower Commission, a group set up by eight major scientific societies.

Hill, connected with the Los Alamos (N.M.) Atomic Laboratory, said he is "personally confident that Dr. Oppenheimer will be cleared."

Meyerhoff said:

"There is no more competent person with more in his head on the atomic program than Dr. Oppenheimer, and it seems to me that he simply must be in the councils of the government."

EASED OUT BY WILSON.

Secretary of Defense Wilson implied yesterday that Oppenheimer had been eased out as an adviser to the Armed Forces last year. He said the committee on which Oppenheimer served had been abolished last July and added that was a "real smooth way" to get rid of a problem.

He gave no other details, but in general comment told a news conference:

"Frankly, I have sympathy for anyone who made a mistake and then reformed. But I think they should be reformed somewhere else than in the armed services."

In Dallas, Sen. McCarthy (R-Wis.) said he has considered Oppenheimer a security risk for years, and he added:

"One man in a key spot can do more damage than a thousand in little ones."

The Senator also told news-

men he is "deeply concerned about security on new developments of the H-bomb," and said, "We've got our eyes on some other fellows besides Oppenheimer."

McCarthy also said "we are deeply concerned about security on new developments of the H-bomb."

"I'm talkin' about new developments..." he said. After years of investigating this thing, I'm sure we don't have any old secrets left."

Oppenheimer's own release of an exchange of letters with K. D. Nichols, general manager of the AEC, brought out the nature of the charges against him and his own reply, including various flat denials.

In short, the man who played perhaps the leading scientific role in development of the

atomic bomb and who foresaw the hydrogen bomb, was accused of having associated with known Communists, of having belonged to various Communist front organizations and of having sought to delay the H-bomb.

Oppenheimer has strongly denied ever having party mem-

bership, but acknowledged some association with Communists years ago.

He said he advised against all-out work on the H-bomb in 1949, along with other scientists, but did all he could to further it after former President Truman gave the go-ahead.

Oppenheimer has since undergone various clearances in the past under 1953 rules laid down by the Eisenhower administration. All persons against whom such information were obtained were re-investigated.

100-9066-225

Note Flays A-Chief as Informer

Former AEC chiefs Lilienthal and Dean reported ready to testify in defense of Oppenheimer. Page 6.

By DAVID SENTNER

N. Y. Journal-American Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, April 15.—A letter from Dr. Edward U. Condon to Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer charging the latter with trying to involve other people in an attempt to secure immunity for himself today entered the Oppenheimer security risk investigation by the Atomic Energy Commission.

Dr. Condon, former director of the Bureau of Standards and erstwhile intimate friend of Dr. Oppenheimer, top ranking A-bomb scientist, was himself labeled one of the weakest links in atomic security by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The committee finally held a hearing on his case in Chicago in 1952. Condon claimed he cleared himself. He is now research director at the Corning Glass Works, Corning, N. Y.

LETTERS IN FILES.

The secret testimony of Dr. Oppenheimer before this committee regarding Dr. Bernard Peters, atomic research and mutual friend of both Condon and Oppenheimer, was the basis of the acid-like missive typed by Condon.

Photostatic copies of the letter are in the restricted files of

Continued on Page 4, Column 1.

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Condon Hit Oppenheimer 'Move to Buy Immunity'

Flayed Scientist for Testimony Linking Dr. Peters to Reich Reds

By DAVID SENTNER

Continued from First Page

three Congressional committees and available to the AEC board probing Dr. Oppenheimer.

A second letter, written by Dr. Condon to his wife, was not available.

Dr. Peters, following charges that he had been a member of the Communist party in Germany, was untied from an AEC atomic fellowship assignment at the University of Rochester, N. Y. Peters formally had been attached to the Radiation Laboratory at Berkeley, Cal.

DEEPLY 'SHOCKED.'

The complete letter from Dr. Condon to Dr. Oppenheimer, written on June 27, 1949, under an Idaho Springs, Colo., dateline is hereby revealed by the Hearst newspapers:

"Dear Robert:

"I have been shocked beyond description at the

article which appeared in the Rochester Times-Union purporting to give an account of your testimony about Bernard Peters before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

"I have lost a good deal of sleep trying to figure out how you could have talked this way about a man whom you have known so long and of whom you know so well what a good physicist and good citizen he is.

'CAN'T BUY IMMUNITY.'

"One is tempted to feel that you are so foolish as to think you can buy immunity for yourself by turning informer.

"I hope that this is not true. You know very well that once these people decide to go into your own dossier and make it public that it will make the 'revelations' that have been made so far look pretty tame.

"It is hard to think how you can make amends. I hope that there is some sense in which the whole story looks alright in spite of the unfavorable excerpts.

'SHOULD MAKE AMENDS.'

"In that case you should make it all public. You should write at once to the president of the University of Rochester giving him full assurances that Peters is all right.

"If Peters loses his position at the University of Rochester



ACCUSER . . . Dr. Edward U. Condon, former director of the Bureau of Standards, wrote to Oppenheimer, accusing him of betraying a friend.

International News Photo.

as a result of your action, and if he does, it will be as a result of what you have done, then it seems to me that you are under an inescapable moral obligation to offer Peters a position on the staff of the Institute for Advanced Study that is at least the equivalent of what he has now.

"I hope you will not feel that this is unwarranted interference. This is much more than a purely personal matter between Peters and yourself. You do not need to reply to this letter; if you satisfy Peters then you will have satisfied me."

Here is the testimony of Dr. Condon in Chicago, on Sept. 5, 1952, before the American Committee on Un-American Activities.



PAWN? . . . Dr. Bernard Peters, atomic research scientist, whom Dr. Condon accused Oppenheimer of betraying: an attempt to gain immunity for himself.

AP

100-9066-226

ADMITS WRITING LETTER.

Committee Counsel Tavenner: Did you take J. Robert Oppenheimer to task for his alleged testimony (regarding Dr. Bernard Peters) before the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Dr. Condon: Yes. I wrote him a very critical letter.

Tavenner: Did you charge Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer with endeavoring to involve other people in an effort to obtain immunity for himself?

Dr. Condon: I am not sure. I don't have a copy of that letter.

Tavenner: Well, that is a very serious charge to make against a person, and you say that you wrote him a very sharp letter.

Dr. Condon: That is right.

STILL VERY ANGRY.

Tavenner: Can't you recall that you did make such a charge?

Dr. Condon: I wouldn't want to say that I made it unequivocally. I may have said something substantially that, and I was very angry at that time, and I am still quite angry about it.

Tavenner: Well, what had occurred to your knowledge, if anything, which in your judgment would constitute a reason why Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer should seek immunity by telling something that was untrue about someone else, or something that was true about some other person?

Dr. Condon: What do you mean? Such immunity could be immunity just from harassment and annoyance without any foundation such as in my own case, and there is no basis for any of the annoyance that I have been put through.

WORKED ON A-BOMB.

Tavenner: I am asking you about Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, and was there anything that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer had done to your knowledge which would constitute a reason why he should seek immunity?

Dr. Condon: No.

Condon further testified that Dr. Peters was working with him in the Berkeley Laboratory which was connected with the development of the atomic bomb.

Dr. Frank F. Oppenheimer was also in the Berkeley group during the war, he said. Frank, younger brother of J. Robert Oppenheimer, admitted before the committee he had belonged to the Communist Party on the West Coast for some years.

PETERS 'VERY UNHAPPY.'

Condon testified that he and Robert Oppenheimer and Peters were all together at Idaho Springs in June, 1949, when he wrote the letter to J. Robert.

Condon testified that Peters

showed him newspaper clippings relating to Dr. Robert Oppenheimer's appearance in executive session before the committee in which he allegedly testified to the effect that Peters was at one time a member of the Communist Party in Germany.

Peters was "very unhappy about it," Condon added.

100-9066-226

FILE DESCRIPTION

NEW YORK FILE

J. ROBERT

SUBJECT OPPENHEIMER

FILE NO. 100-9066

VOLUME NO. 6
Sub "B"

SERIALS 227

thru

296

File No: 100-9066 sub B

Re: Robert Oppenheimer

Date: _____
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
227	4/15/54	New York Post	2	—	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
228	4/15/54	New York News	1	—	" " "
229	4/20/54	New York Times	1	—	" " "
230	5/18/54	New York Post	2	—	" " "
231	5/18/54	New York World Telegram & Sun	1	—	" " "
232	5/20/54	New York World Telegram & Sun	1	—	" " "
233	5/20/54	New York Post	1	—	" " "
234	5/21/54	New York Herald Tribune	1	—	" " "
235	5/21/54	New York Times	1	—	" " "
236	5/21/54	New York News	1	—	" " "
237	5/24/54	New York Post	1	—	" " "
238	5/24/54	New York Times	1	—	" " "

File No: _____

Re: _____

Date: _____
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
239	5/24/54	New York World Telegram & Sun	1	—	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
240	5/24/54	New York Brooklyn Eagle	1	—	" " "
241	5/24/54	New York News	1	—	" " "
242	5/24/54	New York Post	1	—	" " "
243	6/9/54	New York Post	1	—	" " "
244	6/9/54	New York World Telegram & Sun	1	—	" " "
245	6/10/54	New York News	1	—	" " "
246	6/10/54	New York News	1	—	" " "
247	6/10/54	New York Mirror	1	—	" " "
248	6/10/54	New York Telegram & Sun	1	—	" " "
249	6/10/54	New York Herald Tribune	1	—	" " "
250	6/10/54	New York Times	2	—	" " "

File No: _____

Re: _____

Date: _____
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
251	6/11/54	New York Herald Tribune	1	+	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
252	6/11/54	New York Herald Tribune	1	-	" " "
253	6/11/54	New York Times	1	-	" " "
254	6/11/54	New York Times	2	-	" " "
255	6/12/54	New York Times	1	-	" " "
256	6/16/54	New York World Telegram & Sun	2	-	" " "
257	6/16/54	New York Post	5	-	" " "
258	6/16/54	New York Journal American	2	-	" " "
259	6/16/54	New York World Telegram & Sun	2	-	" " "
260	6/16/54	New York World Telegram & Sun	1	-	" " "
261	6/16/54	New York Brooklyn Eagle	2	-	" " "
262	6/16/54	New York Journal	3	-	" " "

File No: _____

Re: _____

Date: _____
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
263	6/17/54	New York Times	2	-	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
264	6/17/54	New York Times	1	-	" " "
265	6/17/54	New York Mirror	1	-	" " "
266	6/17/54	New York Post	1	-	" " "
267	6/17/54	New York World Telegram & Sun	1	-	" " "
268	6/17/54	New York Journal American	1	-	" " "
269	6/17/54	New York Post	4	-	" " "
270	6/17/54	New York Brooklyn Eagle	1	-	" " "
271	6/17/54	New York Times	1	-	" " "
272	6/17/54	New York Times	3	-	" " "
273	6/17/54	New York Herald Tribune	1	-	" " "
274	6/17/54	New York Herald Tribune	2	-	" " "

File No: _____

Re: _____

Date: _____
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
275	6/17/54	New York Herald Tribune	2	2	
276	6/17/54	New York Times	1	+	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
277	6/18/54	New York Herald Tribune	2	-	" " "
278	6/18/54	New York Times	3	-	" " "
279	6/21/54	New York Herald Tribune	1	-	" " "
280	6/18/54	New York Post	2	-	" " "
281	6/18/54	New York Post	1	-	" " "
282	6/18/54	New York Post	1	-	" " "
283	6/22/54	New York Times	1	-	" " "
284	6/22/54	New York Herald Tribune	2	-	" " "
285	6/22/54	New York Herald Tribune	2	-	" " "
286	6/22/54	New York Herald Tribune	1	+	" " "

File No: _____

Re: _____

Date: _____
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
287	6/22/54	New York Post	1	—	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
288	6/22/54	New York Post	2	—	" " "
289	6/23/54	New York Times	1	—	" " "
290	6/23/54	New York Herald Tribune	2	—	" " "
291	6/23/54	New York Post	1	—	" " "
292	7/12/54	New York Journal American	2	—	" " "
293	7/7/54	New York Post	1	—	" " "
294	7/7/54	New York Journal American	2	2	
295	7/7/54	New York Brooklyn Eagle	1	—	OUTSIDE THE ROSENBERG CASE
296	7/8/54	New York World Telegram & Sun	1	—	" " "

U. S. Department of Justice

(MATERIAL MUST NOT BE REMOVED FROM OR ADDED TO THIS FILE)

FEDERAL BUREAU of INVESTIGATION

See also Nos. _____

100 - 9066
Justice B
Mud paper Clipping

Section 6
Serial 227-296
Pending
1 September 1941
J. T. Smith
C
H. Smith
6-3054
H. J. Jorale

Today in Washington

Drive to Discredit A. E. C. Is Laid to 'Left Wingers'

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, June 16.—A determined effort seems to have been made by "left wingers" heretofore to discredit the Atomic Energy Commission and particularly its chairman, Lewis S. Strauss, whose heroic defense of the security of the United States deserves instead the highest plaudits of his countrymen. His chief sin in the eyes of the "left wingers" is that he has lined up against Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

The official release of the entire transcript in the proceedings which led to the judgment that Dr. Oppenheimer is a security risk and should not be employed by governmental agencies hereafter is a sensational revelation. But this document and the report of the special board headed by Gordon Gray do not tell the whole story.

For the fact is that Dr. Oppenheimer strayed outside the field of science and, for example, urged that in the event of war the Strategic Air Command of the United States Air Force should not be used if the other side would agree also to refrain from using theirs, which was relatively small. This was first disclosed in an article appearing in "Fortune" magazine in May, 1953, which was written by Charles J. V. Murphy, who had just finished a tour of reserve duty as a colonel in the Air Force and as aide to the late Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg.

Why Military Advice?

Why should a scientist—and an influential one who could bring to bear the united influence of many of his colleagues—try insistently to give advice during top-level secret conferences on what the American military position should be? The Gray board's report had in it this guarded language:

"In evaluating advice from a specialist which departs from the area of his specialty, government officials charged with the military posture of our country must also be certain that underlying any advice is a genuine conviction that this country cannot in the interest of security have less than the strongest possible offensive capabilities in a time of national danger. . . .

"We must make it clear that we do not question Dr. Oppenheimer's right to the opinions he opment of this weapon (the H-bomb). They were shared by other competent and devoted individuals, both in and out of government. We are willing to assume that they were motivated by deep moral conviction.

"We are concerned, however, that he may have departed his role as scientific adviser to exercise highly persuasive influence in matters in which his convictions were not necessarily a reflection of technical judgment, and also not necessarily related to the protection of the strongest offensive military interests of the country.

"In the course of the proceedings, there developed other facts which raised questions of such serious import as to give us concern about whether the retention of Dr. Oppenheimer's services would be clearly consistent with the security interests of the United States."

Most significant also is a letter from William L. Borden just now made public in the official proceedings of the hearings of

Gate City
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JUN 17 1954

N. Y.

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100-9066-275

the Gray board. Mr. Borden was executive director of the staff of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy from January, 1949, until June, 1953. He served under the late Senator McMahon, Democrat, who was chairman of the committee. Before entering on these duties, he had been a pilot in the Army Air Force for three years and served overseas. He is a graduate of Yale Law School. On Nov. 7, 1953, after he left the committee, he wrote to J. Edgar Hoover, director of the F. B. I., outlining his suspicions about Dr. Oppenheimer based on a careful study of all classified data to which he had access, and this included almost everything related to atomic-energy matters in the government. Mr. Borden wrote in part:

"The purpose of this letter is to state my own exhaustively considered opinion, based upon years of study, of the available classified evidence, that more probably than not J. Robert Oppenheimer is an agent of the Soviet Union.

"This opinion considers the following factors among others: He was contributing substantial monthly sums to the Communist party; his ties with communism had survived the Nazi-Soviet pact and the Soviet attack upon Finland; his wife and younger brother were Communists; he had no close friends except Communists; he had at least one Communist mistress; he belonged only to Communist organizations, apart from professional affiliations; the people whom he recruited into the early wartime Berkeley atomic project were exclusively Communists; he had been instrumental in securing recruits for the Communist party; and he was in frequent contact with Soviet agents."

Admissions Held Damaging

In addition, Mr. Borden charged that Dr. Oppenheimer was a vigorous supporter of the H-bomb program until World War II ended and that he then urged each senior individual in his field to desist and was "remarkably instrumental in influencing the military authorities and the Atomic Energy Commission essentially to suspend H-bomb development from mid-1946 through January 31, 1950."

Mr. Borden asserts that Oppenheimer "more probably than not, has since (mid-1942) acted under a Soviet directive influencing United States military, atomic energy, intelligence, and diplomatic policy," and points out that "it is to be noted that these conclusions correlate with information furnished by Klaus Fuchs, indicating that the Soviets had acquired an agent in Berkeley who informed them about electro-magnetic separation research during 1942 and earlier."

What is particularly damaging, however, are several of Oppenheimer's own admissions which are revealed in the official testimony, such as his confession that he lied to a security officer of the United States Army about a contact with him attempted by a Soviet agent and that he did not reveal the true facts until some months later. Obviously the furor about the Oppenheimer case isn't just a matter of views or opinions but concerns specific acts that led to the decision to refuse to give him security clearance for the future.

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THESE DAYS:

Oppenheimer And Security

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

DR. J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER is one of the most imaginative and highly cultivated minds in this country. The conclusions of the Atomic Energy Commission leave one with a sense of tragedy, for, no matter what Oppenheimer's gifts may be, his conduct has been without morality. Even Commissioner Henry DeWolf Smyth who dissented from the opinions of his fellow-commissioners and who defended Oppenheimer had to admit that Oppenheimer lied childishly and was sorry for it. So is Klaus Fuchs sorry for what he did, but that does not help the United States.

Essentially this is a moral question and in a materialistic era, moral questions are often subordinated to the pragmatic. Dr. Smyth clearly indicates this view when he says:

"Since Dr. Oppenheimer is one of the most knowledgeable and lucid physicists we have, his services could be of great value to the country in the future . . ."

Skill Isn't Good Enough

But skill is not good enough when what is involved is national security. A forger is an extremely skillful person but no jury would take that into consideration as a mitigation for a crime. Dr. Oppenheimer is not accused of any crime on the statute books, but his discretion, in a field where indiscretion can be destructive of national existence, is denied and at least one Commissioner, Thomas E. Murray, denies his loyalty.

It is the Murray opinion that interests me most because it deals with the fundamental moral relationship between the citizen and the state. This we often overlook in the general assumption that anything goes in politics, that a man is entitled to a job if he has the qualifications, and that the Government may use any pretext to do what it chooses.

Murray's opinion pursues a philosophy of life, influenced, I find, by the moral concept of Thomas Aquinas. Murray defines loyalty as faithfulness and says: ". . . This faithfulness is a matter of obligation; it is a duty owed. The root of the obligation and duty is the lawfulness of the Government, rationally recognized and freely accepted by the citizens."

Afternoon
CLIPPING FROM THE

N. Y. JOURNAL AMERICAN
DATED JUL 7 1954
FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

100-9066B-294

F. H. Smith

"The American citizen recognizes that his government, for all its imperfections, is a government under law, of law, by law; therefore he is loyal to it . . ."

He then goes on to say that the advent of the Communist conspiracy has forced upon the American Government the necessity of establishing and emphasizing a security system which in some respects offends the American concepts of private opinion and private action. So, Murray distinguishes between the citizen who accepts responsibilities within the Government and those who do not. He says:

"The American citizen in private life, the man who is not engaged in governmental service, is not bound by the requirements of the security system. However, those American citizens who have the privilege of participating in the operations of government, especially in sensitive agencies, are necessarily subject to this special system of law. Consequently, their faithfulness to lawful government of the United States, that is to say their loyalty, must be judged by the standard of their obedience to security regulations . . ."

Eleventh Commandment

I wonder if such a distinction can really be made in a free society. Suppose I were to encounter at a dinner party a blabbing fool employed by the AEC or the CIA who insists on showing off by telling in a mixed and uncertain company all that he knows, including national secrets, let us say, upon which could depend victory or defeat in time of war. According to the rules of gentlemanly conduct, one should not repeat outside what one hears at his host's table.

But am I a free person in that respect? Am I free to be gentlemanly if I even suspect that in this silly, blow-hard, name-dropping conversation lies peril to my family, my country, my civilization? If I see a fire in somebody else's home, must I not turn in an alarm? Shall I play safe and ruin my own business and hope for the best?

These are questions of moral responsibility which some can dodge with ease because they believe that the Eleventh Commandment is the greatest of all, namely, to mind one's own business, or as the Chinese put it, "Never look into your neighbor's pot."

The Oppenheimer Case, so far, does not involve espionage; it does involve security and responsibility, and these are questions of essential morality.

FILE DESCRIPTION

NEW YORK FILE

SUBJECT J. Robert Oppenheimer

FILE NO. 100-9066 Sub B

VOLUME NO. 7

SERIALS 297

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NY
File No 100-9096 SUB "B"Re: J. Robert OppenheimerDate 2/78
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
297	7/1/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	1	-	Outside the R case
298	7/1/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	1	-	" " "
299	7/1/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	1	-	" " "
300	7/1/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	1	-	" " "
301	7/1/54	news article "NY Mirror"	2	-	" " "
302	7/1/54	news article "NY Times"	2	-	" " "
303	7/1/54	news article "NY Times"	1	-	" " "
304	7/1/54	news article "NY Times"	2	-	" " "
305	7/1/54	news article "NY Times"	2	-	" " "
306	7/1/54	news article "NY Times"	1	-	" " "
307	7/1/54	news article "NY Brooklyn Eagle"	2	-	" " "
308	7/1/54	news article "NY World Telegram & Sun"	1	-	" " "

NY
File No 100-9096 SUB "B"Re J. Robert OppenheimerDate 2/78
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
309	7/1/54	news article "NY Post"	2	-	outside the PR case
310	7/1/54	news article "NY Brooklyn Eagle"	1	-	" " "
311	7/1/54	news article "NY Journal American"	2	-	" " "
312	7/1/54	news article "NY Post"	2	-	" " "
313	7/1/54	news article "NY Post"	2	-	" " "
314	7/2/54	news article "NY Post"	1	-	" " "
315	7/2/54	news article "NY Post"	2	-	" " "
316	7/2/54	news article "NY Times"	1	-	" " "
317	7/4/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	1	-	" " "
318	7/4/54	news article "NY Times"	2	-	" " "
319	7/6/54	news article "NY Post"	1	-	" " "
320	7/6/54	news article "NY World Telegram & Sun"	1	-	" " "

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Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
321	7/6/54	news article "NY World Telegram + Sun"	1	-	outside the Release
322	7/6/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	1	-	" " "
323	7/6/54	news article "NY Mirror"	1	-	" " "
324	7/5/54	news article "NY Mirror"	1	-	" " "
325	7/19/54	news article "New Leader"	2	-	" " "
326	6/24/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	2	-	" " "
327	6/26/54	news article "NY Times"	1	-	" " "
328	6/29/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	1	-	" " "
329	6/29/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	2	-	" " "
330	6/29/54	news article "NY World Telegram + Sun"	1	-	" " "
331	6/30/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	1	-	" " "
332	6/30/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	4	-	" " "

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Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
333	6/30/54	news article "NY World Telegram & Sun"	1	-	outside the Rease
334	6/30/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	1	-	" " "
335	6/30/54	news article "NY Mirror"	1	-	" " "
336	6/30/54	news article "NY Post"	1	-	" " "
337	6/30/54	news article "NY Journal American"	2	-	" " "
338	6/30/54	news article "NY World Telegram & Sun"	1	-	" " "
339	6/30/54	news article "NY Times"	2	-	" " "
340	6/30/54	news article "NY Post"	2	-	" " "
341	6/30/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	2	-	" " "
342	6/30/54	news article "NY Brooklyn Eagle"	1	-	" " "
343	6/30/54	news article "NY News"	1	-	" " "
344	7/9/54	news article "NY Post"	1	-	" " "

NY
File No: 100-9096 SUB "B" re: J. Robert OppenheimerDate: 2/78
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Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
345	7/1/54	news article "NY Post"	1	-	outside the R Case
346	7/1/54	news article "NY Times"	1	-	" " "
347	7/14/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	2	-	" " "
348	7/26/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	1	-	" " "
349	7/26/54	news article "NY Post"	1	-	" " "
350	7/26/54	news article "NY Times"	1	-	" " "
351	7/23/54	news article "NY Post"	2	-	" " "
352	6/30/54	news article "Daily Worker"	1	-	" " "
353	7/28/54	news article "NY World Telegram & Sun"	2	-	" " "
354	7/30/54	news article "NY Journal American"	2	-	" " "
355	8/3/54	news article "NY Mirror"	1	-	" " "
356	8/30/54	news article "NY Post"	1	-	" " "

NY
File No. 100-9096 SUB "B"

Re: J. Robert Oppenheimer

Date 2/78
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
357	8/20/54	news article "NY World Telegram & Sun"	1	-	outside the Rease
358	8/21/54	news article "NY Times"	1	-	" " "
359	8/30/54	news article "NY Times"	1	-	" " "
360	8/30/54	news article "NY News"	1	-	" " "
361	8/30/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	1	-	" " "
362	8/30/54	news article "NY World Telegram & Sun"	1	-	" " "
363	9/2/54	news article "NY Times"	2	-	" " "
364	9/10/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	2	-	" " "
365	9/15/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	1	-	" " "
366	9/15/54	news article "NY Times"	1	-	" " "
367	9/15/54	news article "NY World Telegram"	2	-	" " "
368	9/15/54	news article "NY Post"	1	-	" " "

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File No: 100-9096 SUB "B"Re: J. Robert OppenheimerDate: 2/78
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
369	9/15/54	news article "NY Brooklyn Eagle"	2	-	outside the Rease
370	9/15/54	news article "NY Journal American"	1	-	" " "
371	9/16/54	news article "NY News"	1	-	" " "
372	9/16/54	news article "NY Times"	1	-	" " "
373	9/16/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	3	-	" " "
374	9/20/54	news article "NY World Telegram & Sun"	1	-	" " "
375	9/20/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	1	-	" " "
376	9/20/54	news article "NY Journal American"	1	-	" " "
377	9/21/54	news article "NY News"	2	-	" " "
378	9/21/54	news article "NY News"	1	-	" " "
379	9/21/54	news article "NY Mirror"	1	-	" " "
380	9/16/54	news article "Daily Worker"	1	-	" " "

NY
File No: 100-909650B "B" Re: J. Robert OppenheimerDate: 2/78
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
381	9/27/54	news article "NY News"	2	-	outside the Rease
382	9/27/54	news article "NY World Telegram & Sun"	1	-	" " "
383	9/30/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	1	-	" " "
384	10/2/54	news article "NY Times"	2	-	" " "
385	10/2/54	news article "NY Herald Tribune"	1	-	" " "
386	10/2/54	news article "NY Brooklyn Eagle"	1	-	" " "
387	10/4/54	news article "NY Brooklyn Eagle"	1	-	" " "
388	10/4/54	news article "NY Post"	3	-	" " "
389	10/25/54	news article "NY Mirror"	1	-	" " "

FILE DESCRIPTION

NEW YORK FILE

SUBJECT J. R. OPPENHEIMER

FILE NO. 100-9066 - B

VOLUME NO. Set 8

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U. S. Department of Justice

(MATERIAL MUST NOT BE REMOVED FROM OR ADDED TO THIS FILE)

FEDERAL BUREAU
of
INVESTIGATION

See also Nos. _____

File No. 100-4066
Sub. Walter Bell
Newspaper Clipping
Section 1
Serial 390-
H.B. Meyer
2-2-55
D.A. Smith
2-9-

Vol. Sub B-Sect. 8File No: 100-9066Re: J. R. OPPENHEIMER

Date:

6/78
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
390	10-11-54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	outside the R. case
391	10-19-54	Newspaper Clipping	2	—	outside the R. case
392	10-22-54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	outside the R. case
393	10-22-54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	outside the R. case
394	1-2-55	Newspaper Clipping	3	—	outside the R. case
395	10-12-54	Newspaper Clipping	2	—	outside the R. case
396	11-2-54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	outside the R. case
397	11-5-54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	outside the R. case
398	11-11-54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	outside the R. case
399	11-12-54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	outside the R. case
400	11-15-54	Newspaper Clipping	2	—	outside the R. case
401	12-3-54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	outside the R. case

QIP

Vol. Sub B - Sect 8File No: 100-9066Re: J.R. OppenheimerDate: 6/78
(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
402	12-20-54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	outside the R. case
403	12-25-54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	outside the R. case
404	12-27-54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	outside the R. case
405	12-27-54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	outside the R. case
406	12-27-54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	outside the R. case
407	12-27-54	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	outside the R. case
408	1-5-55	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	outside the R. case
409	1-16-55	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	outside the R. case
410	1-16-55	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	outside the R. case
411	2-14-55	Newspaper Clipping	2	—	outside the R. case
412	2-27-55	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	outside the R. case
413	3-9-55	Newspaper Clipping	1	—	outside the R. case

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(month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
414	3-24-55	Newspaper Clipping	1	-	outside the R case
415	3-17-55	Newspaper Clipping	1	-	outside the R. case
416	1-18-55	Newspaper Clipping	1	-	outside the R case
417	1-19-55	Newspaper Clipping	1	-	outside the R. Case
418	1-20-55	Newspaper Clipping	2	-	outside the R. case
419	3-24-55	Newspaper Clipping	1	-	outside the R. case
420	3-24-55	Newspaper clipping	1	-	outside the R. case
421	3-23-55	Newspaper Clipping	1	-	outside the R. case
422	4-9-55	Newspaper Clipping	1	-	outside the R. case
423	2-9-56	Newspaper Clipping	2	-	outside the R. case
424	5-11-56	Newspaper Clipping	4	-	outside the R. case
425	3-25-57	Newspaper Clipping	2	-	outside the R. case

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Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages		Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
			Actual	Released	
426	3-25-57	Newspaper Clipping	1	-	outside the R. case
427	3-25-57	Newspaper Clipping	1	-	outside the R. case
428	3-26-57	Newspaper Clipping	1	-	outside the R. case
429	3-26-57	Newspaper Clipping	1	-	outside the R. case
430	4-11-57	Newspaper Clipping	1	-	outside the R. case
431	10-31-57	Newspaper Clipping	1	-	outside the R. case
432	11-18-57	Newspaper Clipping	1	-	outside the R. case
433	11-24-57	Newspaper Clipping	1	-	outside the R. case
434	12-9-57	Newspaper Clipping	2	-	outside the R. case
435	12-9-57	Newspaper Clipping	1	-	outside the R. case
436	12-6-57	Newspaper Clipping	2	-	outside the R. case
437	11-22-57	Newspaper Clipping	3	-	outside the R. case

vol. Sub B- Sect 8

File No: 100-9046

Re:

J. R. Appendix

Date:

6/78
(month/year)

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